



*The life and works of
Friedrich Armand Strubberg*

Preston Albert Barba



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FRIEDRICH ARMAND STRUBBERG

[After the Portrait in possession of Frau Inspektor Lenkmann, Kassel.]

THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF
FRIEDRICH ARMAND STRUBBERG

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TO VINU
AMISOFLAO

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED
TO
MY OLD TEACHER
WILHELM WACKERNAGEL
MUHLENBERG COLLEGE

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PREFACE

This monograph is an extension of a dissertation presented to the Committee of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Its purpose is to restore an interesting figure in the history of the cultural relations of Germany and America to his rightful place as a pioneer and writer. Once a popular chronicler of German emigration to Western America, and of Indian life there, Friedrich Armand Strubberg suffered the misfortune of passing into oblivion when German emigration ceased and the Indian himself had become little more than a name. For the historian to continue longer to neglect Strubberg would be adding injustice to misfortune.

I wish to express here my sincere gratitude to Professor Marion D. Learned, who suggested the subject, and to Professor Daniel B. Shumway, both of the University of Pennsylvania, for the kind encouragement, aid and criticism, which they have given me in the course of this work.

I am indebted also to not a few persons for having furnished me with valuable material. Of these I mention the dialect-poet Karl Heinz Hill, of Wiesbaden; Kanzleirat C. Neuber, Postdirektor a. D. George Wolff, and Frau Inspektor Lenkmann, of Kassel; Herr Franz Berck and Herr Ebert, of Gelnhausen, and Frau Geheimrat Frese, of Bad Wildungen, all of whom had been friends of the author.

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PRESTON A. BARBA.

Indiana University, May, 1913.

Friedrich Armand Strubberg

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Appearance of the Exotic Element in German Fiction before Strubberg.

The history of the exotic novel in German Literature still remains to be written. Such a history would certainly not begin with Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl) who is commonly called the father¹ of the exotic novel in Germany. The growth of the exotic novel has been a slow one and has continued during many centuries. Its roots consist of many complicated ramifications and lie deeply embedded in that peculiar but inherent trait in the German character so fittingly termed *Der Drang in die Ferne*. A love for the exotic and an adaptability to foreign standards have manifested themselves constantly from the earliest to modern times, and have been much deplored by German thinkers. An Austrian satirist of the thirteenth century, the so-called Seifried Helbling,² took it upon himself to lash the German for his servitude to foreign manners. This same trait has frequently and for long periods of time enslaved German literature and made it dependent now upon the French and the English, now upon the Italian and the Spanish.³

¹ This appellation was probably first given Sealsfield by Rudolf Gottschall. See his *Porträts und Studien*. 1. Bd. 1870, p. 386; also his *Deutsche National-literatur des 19. Jhs.*, 4. Bd. 1872, p. 788.

² See *Seifried Helbling*. Ed. by Hugo Hildebrand in D. N. L. Bd. IX.

³ Cf. Wilhelm Lindemann: *Geschichte der deutsch. Lit.*, 7. Aufl. 1898, p. 874.

The first great channel for the induction of the exotic element into German literature was that of the Crusades. "Through their contact with the East," writes Robertson, "the Crusaders threw open a new world to the European imagination. The strange peoples and customs, the unfamiliar plants and animals, the rich textures, precious stones, and fabulous wealth of the Orient had a peculiar fascination for the western mind, and a childish delight in these wonders re-echoes through medieval poetry until long after the classical renaissance in Italy."⁴ The first Eastern literature brought into Europe by the Crusaders was the Latin version of an Alexander saga which was translated into German from the French *Chanson d' Alexandre* by the priest Lamprecht about 1140. The first direct embodiment of such Oriental material, however, was in the epics of *König Rother* (ca. 1160) and *Herzog Ernst* (ca. 1180). In *Graf Rudolf* (ca. 1170), a Thuringian poem, Eastern material has also been employed.⁵ Further mention of the numberless later instances in which exotic material has been employed throughout the productive Middle High German period of German literature would be out of place here.

In the fifteenth century another exotic element, outside of that which manifested itself in literature as such, made itself felt in the form of certain works on travel. In 1356 Sir John Maundeville had written his famous *Travels* in French. The first German translation probably dates from 1430.⁶ Maundeville's *Travels* contain more fiction than truth. Gradually, however, descriptions of travel came to be based on more scientific observation and the fictitious took a less significant place. In 1534 Sebastian Frank published his *Weltbuoch: spiegel und bildt-niss des gantzen erdbodens*, etc., in Tübingen. In 1544 Sebastian Münster (once a Franciscan monk, later Professor at Basel)

⁴ See John G. Robertson: *A Hist. of Germ. Lit.* 1902, p. 51.

⁵ Cf. Paul Piper: *Die Spielmannsdichtung*. D. N. L. 2. Bd.

⁶ This translation was in Low German. A High German translation by Michael Velser, was printed in Augsburg, 1481.

Cf. Aug. Koberstein: *Geschichte d. deutsch. Nationallit.* Lpz. 1872, 1. Bd., p. 414.

published his *Cosmographia Beschreibung aller lender*, etc., in Basel. A century later, in 1647, appeared Adam Olearius' *Neue Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*. These works manifest a decided step toward the emancipation of the real from the fabulous. Their isolated position, however, prevented them from giving German literature a direct impulse in favor of the exotic.

The second great channel through which the exotic element actually entered German literature, and more particularly the field of the novel, was the introduction of the Spanish romance of roguery. Mendozas' picaresque *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) had been translated into German in 1617. The first fruit of Mendoza's romance in Germany was Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus*, which appeared in 1669. In these romances the rogues were left to wander through various foreign countries, thus affording the author ample opportunity for the introduction of exotic material. Parallel with the romances of roguery were the romances of "gallant" adventure. Of these we must mention here Philipp von Zesen's *Adriatische Rosemund* (1645), and H. A. von Ziegler's *Asiatische Banise* (1688). The scene of the latter is laid in the East and betrays an attempt on the part of the author to give the story a tropical milieu.

With the translation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) into German in 1720, we come to the third great channel. This translation was followed in the eighteenth century by no less than sixty Robinsonades of every conceivable nature.¹ Of all these Robinsonades the most important is *Insel Felsenburg*, written by J. G. Schnabel and published between 1731 and 1743. The hero, dismayed by the baleful results of the Thirty Years' War, leaves Germany to find a new home in some foreign country; he is, however, shipwrecked on the lonely island of Felsenburg where he becomes the founder of a modern Utopia. Whether Defoe had any "Tendenz" motives in his *Robinson Crusoe* is a question not yet definitely answered. It remains cer-

¹ Cf. August Kippenberg: *Robinson in Deutschland bis zur Insel Felsenburg*. Diss. Hannover, 1892.

tain that some of its imitations, especially Insel Felsenburg, were "Tendenz" novels. Robertson thinks they "give voice for the first time to that repugnance to civilisation and desire for a return to nature which Rousseau made a turning-point in the history of European thought."⁸ Through the great number of imitations and adaptations of Robinson Crusoe, among which were a Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, Swiss, and even an American Robinson, a vast amount of exotic material entered German literature.

Through the above-named channels the exotic element made its appearance in German literature prior to the nineteenth century. This earlier element can be recognized only as an indirect factor in the history of the exotic novel. During the last years of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, three forces were at work which gave the exotic novel a direct impact, and may in reality be considered as its molding factors.

The first of these forces was a social one, and is to be found primarily in the works of Rousseau, whose ideas on nature as expressed in his works *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1760), *Emile* (1762), and the *Contrat social* (1762), soon made themselves felt throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Their influence was soon at work in Germany. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was translated into German in 1761. The youthful Wieland, who had already turned away from his early pietism, fell under Rousseau's sway, and published in 1764 *Der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerey oder die Abentheuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalba*. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* had also inspired Goethe in his *Werther*. The nature view in these German works was little akin, however, to that objective view of nature which manifested itself in the French works following in the wake of Rousseau's teachings. In 1784 Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814), who from his earliest youth had entertained the project of establishing a colony on some island in the South Sea after the fashion of

⁸ See Robertson: *Hist. of Germ. Lit.*, p. 231.

Robinson Crusoe, wrote his *Études de la Nature* in which is contained in his literary masterpiece *Paul et Virginie*. In this work the author gave Rousseau's nature pedagogy its most delightful literary form. Significant, too, is the exotic element in the author's minute description of natural objects as found on the Isle de France. In the same work *Paul et Virginie* is followed by the less significant tale *La Chaumière Indienne*. St. Pierre's work only helped to exaggerate that worship of nature and that extravagant admiration for man in his primitive state, which was then so fashionable.⁹ This age, in which sentiment played so large a part, finally found the object for its affections in the American Indian. The cultivation of this interest in the American Indian, or rather the American Indian à la Rousseau, is due largely to Chateaubriand (1768-1848), who like most other young men of the times shared the unbounded admiration for Rousseau. He was big with the theories of the *Contrat Social* and sought to give them literary form. In the spring of 1791 Chateaubriand came to America where he seems to have traveled extensively and even dwelt among the Indians.¹⁰

In the life and manners of the American Indian Chateaubriand found the material for his contemplated work. For the basis of it he took the story of the revolt of the Indians of Louisiana in 1727 against the Europeans who had encroached upon the rights of the red man, and the massacre of the colony at Natchez. His work *Natchez* was the result. Though written before 1800 it was first published in 1826. His *Atala* appeared in 1801. In neither of these works does Chateaubriand, in spite

⁹ The *Études de la Nature* appeared in German as *Betrachtungen über die Natur*; aus d. Französ. 2 Thle. 8. Görlitz, 1795, 96.

¹⁰ The extent of Chateaubriand's travels in America has been the subject for some dispute.

Cf. Anonymous Article: *The Works of Chateaubriand in Amer. Quart. Rev.* Dec. 1827, p. 458 f.

Cf. also Joseph Bedier: *Chateaubriand en Amérique: Vérité et Fiction* in his *Études Critiques*. Paris, 1903.

J. Schmidt in his *Gschte. d. Franz. Lit.*, Lpz., 1873, p. 300, says: "Der Verfasser selbst hatte—freilich nur auf Wochen—den Einfall gehabt, Krieger eines Indianerstammes zu werden; dem Pesthauch der Civilization soweit als möglich entflohen, bis hinein in die bestiale Wildheit!"

of his travels in America, seem to be desirous of giving an objective picture of conditions among the Indians as they were. Of course, he saw with the eyes of a romanticist and in *Atala* he gives his romantic spirit unrestrained freedom. Under his hands the sturdy red man of the American forests became a French salon-Indian. In *Atala* there is little of real ethnographic value. The local coloring is exaggerated and not infrequently false.¹¹

The works of Chateaubriand were largely responsible for that romantic attitude toward the American Indian, and the wild, primitive conditions of nature round about him which have prevailed to a great extent ever since. Indirectly they were re-echoed in Germany in various forms.¹² Among the most common was Johann Gottfried Seume's ¹³ (1763-1810) famous poem *Der Wilde*.¹⁴

The second force, also external, was a purely literary one, and came partly with the introduction of Scott into Germany; partly also with the introduction of Cooper. The condition of the German novel in the first decades of the nineteenth century was a rather precarious one. To quote Barthel: ". . . die

¹¹ The author himself seems to have felt the necessity of defending the verity of his American descriptions, for in a later preface (1805) to *Atala et René* we read: "Quand on trouve dans un auteur une circonstance qui ne fait pas beauté en elle-même et qui ne sert qu'à donner de la ressemblance au tableau, si cet auteur a d'ailleurs montré quelque sens commun, il seroit assez naturel de supposer qu'il n'a pas inventé cette circonstance et qu'il n'a fait que rapporter une chose réelle, bien qu'elle ne soit pas très-commune. Rien n'empêche qu'on ne trouve *Atala* une méchante production, mais j'ose dire que la nature américaine y est peinte avec la plus scrupuleuse exactitude. C'est une justice que, lui rendent tous les voyageurs qui ont visité la Louisiane et les Florides. Les deux traductions angloises d'*Atala* sont parvenues en Amérique, les papiers publics ont annoncé en outre, une troisième traduction publiée à Philadelphie avec succès. Si les tableaux de cette histoire eussent manqué de vérité, auroient-ils réussi chez un peuple qui pouvoit dire à chaque pas: Ce ne sont pas là nos fleuves, nos montagnes, nos forêts. *Atala* est retournée au désert et il semble que sa patrie l'ait reconnue pour véritable enfant de la solitude."

¹² *Atala* appeared in German in the same year of its publication. *Atala. Aus dem Französischen v. K. F. Cramer.* 8. Leipzig, 1801.

¹³ Seume had been kidnapped by Hessian recruiting-officers while on his way to Paris, and dragged to America where he was forced to fight against the Americans in their struggle for independence from England.

¹⁴ For various other sporadic poetic idealizations of the American Indian before *Der Wilde* of Seume, see *The Influence of the American Revolution upon German Literature*, by J. T. Hatfield and E. Hochbaum in *Americana Germanica*. Vol. 3.

poetischen Stoffe waren durch unsere Heroen der Literatur in gewissem Sinne erschöpft. Goethe hatte das innere Gemütsleben des Menschen, vorzüglich in seinem Zwiespalte, dargestellt; Schiller dagegen hatte das bewegte Leben der Weltgeschichte, verklärt durch die Idee der politischen und menschlichen Freiheit, zur Darstellung gebracht. So lag eine ganze Welt poetischen Gehalts fertig. Wo nun neue Stoffe hernehmen?"¹⁵ The answer came with the introduction of the works of Sir Walter Scott into Germany.

In the year 1815 German translations of Scott were published. Up to 1830 the works of Scott may be said to have commanded the literary interest of Germany almost exclusively.¹⁶ The historical novels of Scott and their many imitations in Germany must concern us here for several reasons: First, Scott was an advocate of truthful and minute description. He taught the Germans to take an interest in their past, and describe that past with all the minuteness of reality that the study of antiquity then permitted. Through this lesson the Germans also directed their attention more closely to the present.¹⁷ This was a decided step toward that realism, which found one of its chief exponents in the exotic novel. Secondly, Scott introduced into his works all classes of society; especially did he love to introduce the peasant, with his healthy and often rather gruff humor, with his manners, customs, and superstitions. The peasant had hitherto played a very insignificant rôle in the novel. With the introduction of the lower classes into German fiction was made the first step toward the realization of the "Nebeneinander" novel, of which the exotic novel must be considered a phase.

The appearance of Cooper's novels, and especially those of the Leatherstocking Tales, drew the attention of all Europe to America. Cooper's works were being translated into German

¹⁵ See K. Barthel's *Vorlesungen über die deutsch. Nationallit. der Neuzeit*, p. 2 f.

¹⁶ Cf. H. Mielke: *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 9.

¹⁷ See Mielke: *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 98: "Der historische Roman Walter Scotts führte die romantischen Geister aus ihrer idyllischen oder düsteren Traumwelt der Wirklichkeit und ihrer Poesie näher."

constantly since 1826.¹⁸ The peculiar nature of Cooper's material prohibited his imitators from transplanting their imitations into German soil as Alexis had done with the works of Scott. Consequently a number of writers appeared who imitated Cooper bodily; others, however, had themselves been in America and wrote from personal experience, though they also owed much to Cooper. These writers will receive attention further on. In the works of Cooper, then, we must recognize the most potent of those literary forces, which led to the dependence of the German exotic novel in so large a measure upon America.

The third force was a political one and came with the movement known as "Young German." The Wars of Liberation had left little hope for a united Fatherland in the heart of the German patriot. That little hope had been extinguished wholly by the "Deutscher Bund" of 1814. Napoleon, rather cosmopolitan in his tastes, had showed little respect for boundaries. National consciousness among the Germans was again losing ground. The young students of Hegelian philosophy were entertaining beautiful day-dreams of a "world republic," when the July Revolution broke forth and spread its ferment beyond the mere literary agitators. The Young Germans were prostituting literature to politics. Little of permanent value was produced in the novel which did not have a direct political end.

The discontent of the times reached a hysterical climax in Ernst Willkomm's novel *Der Europamüde* (1838). As a novel it possesses little value. Its characters are personifications of ideas rather than living flesh and blood. It is lyrical, too, rather than epical. Here it is of interest inasmuch as it directs the discontent and yearnings for a better state toward America. The first part of the work ends with a very significant prophecy, in which the interesting idea of a German America is entertained: "Dann, Raimund, denke ich zurück in hohem, heiligen Schmerz an meine Mutterwelt, die ich fliehen musste, um ein Mensch zu bleiben, und greife zur Feder, die ich dem Schweif des Flamingo entreiße, und schreibe die Schmerzen Europa's, decke auf seine

¹⁸ The writer expects to publish a work on *Cooper in German Literature* in the near future.

Gebrechen, singe seinen Jammer und heile sein Weh, indem ich seine Kinder zum Bewusstsein ihres Unglücks bringe. . . . Ich will Europa's poetische Liebe verpflanzen in Amerika's poetische Urwelt. Da soll ein Geschlecht entstehen mit deutschem Blut, deutscher Ausdauer, deutschem Gemüth und deutscher Glaubenskräftigkeit, das sich Leben gesogen hat aus dem unversiegbaren Born der Freiheit. Hinter mir schon seh' ich die Leuchtfener der Küste versinken, dunkel schattet die Nacht über dem Meere, aber der Morgen zündet an einer neuen Küste die begrüßenden Flammen an. Die Apalachen sprühen im Morgenroth wie Riesenhelme empor, zum Himmel stürmen die Zypressen am Mississippi, und tragen die stolze Frage hinauf: Ob es wohl erlaubt sei, auf Erden göttlich frei zu sein neben Gott?"—The second part ends with: "Lebt wohl in Europa! Vom Ufer des Mississippi schreib' ich Euch wieder."

Each of the three forces enumerated, the social, the literary and the political, remarkable as it may be, pointed westward toward America. They had joined to increase the German's love for and interest in America. "Das neue Land der blauen Blume aber" says Mielke, "hiess Amerika, da der weltbürgerliche Geist dieser Epoche sich auf das engste verwandt mit jenen Gesinnungen fühlte, die jenseits des Ozeans aufgesprossen waren und Freiheit und Demokratie hiessen."¹⁹ America became the Mecca for the weary and the oppressed of all classes. With the year 1817 began the great migrations of the nineteenth century. In that year 20,000 Germans were driven by hunger to the shores of America.²⁰ Between 1820-30 only about 15,000 Germans emigrated.²¹ These migrations were due in part to political oppression, but they were fostered partly also by certain works then appearing in Germany, which presented America in most glowing and irresistible terms. The book which above all others prompted emigration on a large scale was Gottfried Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerikas*

¹⁹ See *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 171.

²⁰ Cf. J. Schmidt: *Gschte. d. deutsch. Lit.* 5. Bd., p. 271.

²¹ Cf. G. Körner: *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 432.

und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Übervölkerung, etc., Bonn, 1829. In spite of other works such as Ludwig Gall's *Meine Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten in Nord-Amerika, im Frühjahr 1819 und meine Rückkehr nach der Heimath im Winter 1820*. Trier, 1822, presenting in the most pessimistic manner the darker sides of life in America, the effects of Duden's work seem to have suffered no neutralization. Societies for the encouragement and assistance of emigrants sprang up everywhere. Members of every class of society were registered. The uprisings in 1832 and 1833, as a result of the "Bundestags Ordonnanzen" of 1831 increased emigration. Between 1831-40 the number of emigrants rose to almost 150,000.²² America had become a common meeting ground for all nations. The intermingling of various nationalities, as it occurred in America, is perhaps unparalleled in history.

If ever there was a time when the "Weltliteratur"²³ at which Goethe had hinted could have been realized, it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In no other era was the time for such a "Weltliteratur" so opportune as then. Never had nations been so closely united, nor individuals stood within such close communication. It was the era that introduced steam and through it opened up possibilities before undreamed. The steamboat and the locomotive were not only to revolutionize commerce, but through them literature, and especially the novel, was to take on new life. Spielhagen's pregnant essay *Die epische Dichtung unter dem wechselnden Zeichen des Verkehrs*, though written many years later, applies here. In it he says: "Aber nicht allein bei den grossen Fragen der Menschheit, in deren Beantwortung sich die vorgeschrittenen Geister zu allen Zeiten begegneten, zeigt die moderne Epik in ihren sämtlichen Erzeugnissen eine sich immer steigende Konvergenz; auch in dem Kleinkram der Sitten und Gebräuche, über die eine Verständigung noch viel schwieriger ist, gleicht der Weltverkehr die tren-

²²Cf. G. Körner: *D. deutsche Element*, etc., p. 432.

²³Cf. *Goethe's Werke*. Cotta'sche Ausg. (Goedeke). 18. Bd., pp. 64-66.

nenden Unterschiede immer mehr aus. . . . Die odysseeische Kenntniss fremder Länder, Städte und Sitten, die im vorigen Jahrhundert noch als Privileg verhältnissmässig Weniger, besonders Wohlsituirter war, verschaffen sich heute Tausende und Tausende mit dem Aufwand oft recht bescheidener Mittel; der Handwerker von heute weiss, wenn nicht durch Autopsie, vermittelt durch sozialdemokratische und andere Kongresse, so durch die Lektüre der Zeitungen mehr von den ökonomischen und sittlichen Zuständen der anderen Nationen als vormalis so mancher Gelehrte. Kann es uns da Wunder nehmen, wenn der Roman, das Spiegelbild des Lebens, eine internationale Physiognomie gewinnt? . . . Und ganz gewiss ist es doch eine unabweisliche Konsequenz des Verkehres von heute, dass seine Mittel . . . ihren Verfassern eine Welt früher nicht gekannter Anregungen bieten, Kombinationen ermöglichen."²⁴

The state of affairs was a most remarkable one but more remarkable still was the indifference on the part of the writers of "Young Germany." There in America lay a vast amount of material untouched, a splendid and absolutely fresh apparatus for the German novelist. Goethe, always a pioneer, was not unmindful of the great source for literary material on the Western Continent. We may be assured that it was only the advanced age of the sage of Weimar, which prevented him from himself employing such material. Under the title *Stoff und Gehalt, zur Bearbeitung vorgeschlagen*,²⁵ dated 1827, the poet makes some very interesting suggestions for treating American material. But Goethe's advice to the young writers of his old age as to the employment of such material remained unheeded, perhaps for the reason that none of the literary men to whom it was directed were sufficiently acquainted with such material. The exotic novel has shown itself to be peculiarly the product of the literary wanderer, who, feeling himself too circumscribed by national boundaries, prefers to be a cosmopolitan.

Such a wanderer was Carl Postl, born in the Austrian village of Poppitz in 1793. Carl Postl early entered upon a church

²⁴ See *Die Zukunft*, 17. Bd., 1896, p. 172 f.

²⁵ See *Goethe's Werke*. Cotta'sche Ausg. (Goedeke). 18. Bd., p. 261 f.

career. In 1813 he entered the "Kreuzherrenstift," in Prague as a novice and in 1814 was dedicated to the priesthood. After a number of years, the quiet and confinement of the monastery became too oppressive to the young monk. In the spring of 1823 Postl fled from the monastery and in the fall of the same year landed in New Orleans. In America and to the world at large he was henceforth Charles Sealsfield.²⁶ Between the years 1823 and 1832 Sealsfield lived at various times in the United States, Mexico, London, and Paris. The larger part of this period was, however, spent in the two first-named countries. During his sojourns there he had been a close observer of the customs and manners of the people and had taken a lively interest in all the phases of their activities. He became a citizen of the United States and insisted on remaining so through all his later years in Europe. It was during his stay in America that he first conceived those plans through which he created a new epoch in the history of the German novel. Instead of having a single character, he desired to operate with a whole people as his hero; its public and private life, social, political, and religious, the clash and conflict of the various cultures and nationalities represented, were all to be depicted.²⁷ It was a large program, and one which demanded a man who was not confined or hampered by petty national prejudices. It demanded a cosmopolitan, who stood above and could gaze down upon the mad racial confusion in the New World with an objective eye. Charles Sealsfield, a native of Austria, citizen of the United States of America, an author who wrote in French, German, and English, was certainly such a cosmopolitan. German literature claims him only for the reason that he chose to write most of his work in the German language. By him the exotic threads were finally gathered up and given a distinct literary form.

The exotic novel, as a distinct genre, one whose scene is laid outside the country in whose language it is written, one which brings together various nationalities, carefully delineating their

²⁶ Cf. A. B. Faust: *Charles Sealsfield, der Dichter beider Hemisphären*. 1897.

²⁷ Cf. Brockhaus' *Conversationslexikon*. *Sealsfield: Selbstbiographie*.

ethnographic distinctions and endeavoring to describe the phenomena of nature of that country chosen for its scene of action, which considers its flora and its fauna, first received shape at the hands of Charles Sealsfield.

The exotic novel must in a sense be considered as an outgrowth of the historical novel. It not infrequently hovers between the historical novel and the modern "Zeitroman." Like Scott, Sealsfield frequently employed material, which lay beyond the experience of his own generation, but yet within the memory of man.²⁸ The exotic novel links hands with the past and the present. It developed along with the "Zeitroman" of Gutzkow, Freytag, and Spielhagen, and may be considered a phase of the same.²⁹ Even more than the "Zeitroman" it was instrumental in hastening literary activity toward that realism which prevails in the novel of today.³⁰ Sealsfield was aware of the fact that he had created a new form of novelistic literature but seems to have disclaimed any value for his works beyond the immediate time in which they were read. He desired no new editions of his works. When they were published first, their realistic accounts of American life were true. In a land where conditions were subject to such rapid changes, however, further editions would be out of place. In America, it appeared to him, people cared no longer about history; they lived only in the present.³¹

For us of today it is in just this historical value that the significance of the exotic novel lies. This significance was already apparent to a publisher of Sealsfield's who in his preface to the first edition of the *Cajütenbuch* in 1841 has occasion to remark:

²⁸ Cf. Sealsfield's *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*. 1833.

Also *Der Virey und die Aristokraten, oder Mexiko im Jahre 1812*. 1834.

²⁹ Cf. Faust's *Charles Sealsfield*, p. 19.

³⁰ Sealsfield remarked to Kertbenny: "Ein gut Teil daher der Überraschung und Faszination, den meine Romane hervorbrachten, ist weniger meiner individuellen Begabung zuzuschreiben, als dem Vorteile für mich, dass ich als erster ein derart bestimmtes Romangenie in die deutsche Literatur einführt, so ungeniert gleich auf diesem Terrain stehend, als wäre es das längstgewohnte auch Deutschlands. Dies Genre aber heisst: die Realität, jedoch durch tiefangelegte, psychologische Probleme zu künstlerischem Interesse daran, gesteigert."

³¹ See *Erinnerungen an Charles Sealsfield*, von K. M. Kertbenny, 1864, p. 78 f.

³² See Gottschall's *Porträts und Studien*. 1. Bd., p. 386.

"Sie erinnern sich, dass der Verfasser es sich—zwar nicht zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, . . . aber doch den Beruf in sich zu fühlen scheint, die *Zeitgeschichte* und ihre wichtigeren Momente in lebendigen plastischen Bildern der Welt darzustellen. . . . Zwar wünschen wir die Erwartung des Lesers keineswegs zu hoch zu spannen; aber so viel dürfen wir doch getrost sagen, dass, obwohl dieses Buch keine Prätension auf eigentlich geschichtlichen Werth erhebt, der tiefer Blickende doch bald finden dürfte, wie der dichterischen Hülle etwas sehr wesentlich Geschichtliches zu Grunde liege."—

Sealsfield was the first to carefully portray American life in its diverse forms as it existed in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Herein lies Sealsfield's legacy to America. Sealsfield has photographed, as it were, a period in American history, which as to realistic detail would have been largely lost to us. Our own American novelists have, to be sure, treated separate phases of our varied American life: Hawthorne has preserved for us the Puritan; Bret Harte has given the Chinaman a place in our literature; and George Cable the Creoles of Louisiana. However none of these have aimed at painting us on a large canvass a picture of American life at some period in the totality of that period. "The blunt, raw differences between conflicting orders of civilization," writes Lida von Krockow, "have never been depicted by any considerable school of American novelists, however surprising the fact must appear, when one considers the history and conglomerate population of America."³² To depict such conflicting orders as he saw them in America was the program Sealsfield undertook. A discussion of his works would be out of place here. Sealsfield has fortunately received careful attention and is still engaging the attention of scholars today.³³

Sealsfield was succeeded by a group of writers of the exotic novel who have not been so fortunate. Under their hands the exotic novel began to assume other proportions. It no longer

³² See *American Characters in Germ. Lit.*; *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1891.

³³ Cf. Faust's *Charles Sealsfield*. Weimar, 1897.

confined itself to America. The greater number of Sealsfield's immediate successors did identify themselves strictly with America. Some of them have received a casual line in the works of a few of our literary historians, others have not even fared so well. Today, however, when American historians are slowly beginning to analyze the cultural warp and woof that has entered into the texture of our modern American culture, these men and their works must engage our attention more specifically. They are by no means mere followers of Sealsfield. They had nearly all traveled in America and continued on the paths of realism opened by Sealsfield, but quite independently and in some instances totally unaware of each other. Their importance, especially for the American, lies first in the fact that they portrayed in their works various communities during various periods in our cultural history; secondly, and more especially, in the fact that they have followed the course of German emigration to the Western Continent, portraying the life and vicissitudes of the German in gaining a foothold among the Americans in the East as well as on the extreme frontier and among the Indians in the West, and described for us the fusing processes of the German with the other racial ingredients in the great crucible of American society.

The chief representatives of this group are Gerstärcker, Ruppis, Möllhausen, and Strubberg. Sealsfield (1793-1864) has depicted Mexico and Texas in the periods of 1812-13, and of 1835; he gives much attention also to planter life in Louisiana. Friedrich Gerstärcker (1816-72) portrayed life in Mexico in the sixties, during the time of Maximilian. Otto Ruppis (1819-64) had become perhaps the most popular writer of this group through his *Pedlar* (1857) and a continuation of the same, *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars* (1859), which give the experiences of a young German in America. Baldwin Möllhausen (1825-1905) has associated himself with the territory of the Rocky Mountains and the Plateau of New Mexico, where he had been in the fifties. Armand, pseudonym for Friedrich Armand Strubberg (1806-1889) has more especially identified himself with Mexico and Texas in the forties. It is the last-

named author, who by virtue of the wealth of ethnographic detail in his works, and the splendor of his descriptions of natural scenery, of plants, and animals, stands second to Sealsfield only. Through him the life of the Indians in Texas in the thirties and forties, the beauties of the Cordilleras and the lonely grandeur of the prairies, the early Germans in Texas, and especially the endeavors of the "Mainzer Adelsverein" toward colonization, together with the intense sufferings and hardships of these early German colonists, first received adequate treatment in literature. In spite of all this, it is just this writer who, strange as it may seem, has been most neglected by literary historians. The dedication of the following monograph to the life and work of Friedrich Armand Strubberg therefore needs no further justification.

Univ. of
California



STRUBBERG AS HUNTSMAN

[After a Photograph in the possession of Oberst von Strubberg, Erfurt.]

CHAPTER II.

THE BIOGRAPHY¹ OF STRUBBERG.

Friedrich Armand Strubberg, born in Kassel on March 18, 1806,² was the son of Heinrich Friedrich Strubberg, who was a direct descendant of Landgrave Friedrich I of Hessen, afterwards King of Sweden. Landgrave Friedrich I (b. April 28, 1676) had in 1717 contracted a morganatic marriage with the

¹ The chief sources for a biography of Strubberg are the following:

1. Otfried Mylius (pseudonym for Karl Müller, the novelist): *F. A. Strubberg (Armand)*, *Kälische Zeitung*, Nr. 228, 2. Blatt, 18. Aug., 1889.

2. W. Bennecke: *Aus Armand's Leben. Hessenland. Zeitschrift für hessische Geschichte und Literatur*. Nr. 9, Kassel, 2. Mai, 1889; *ibid.*, Nr. 10, Kassel, 16. Mai, 1889.

3. Ludwig Fränkel: *Strubberg, F. A. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Bd. 36.

4. Georg Wolff: *Altes und Neues über Armand-Strubberg. Hessenland*. Nr. 24, 1911.

5. C. Neuber: *Frédéric Armand Strubberg*. Vortrag, gehalten am 21. Feb. im hessischen Geschichtsverein. *Neue Casseler Zeitung*. Cassel, Donnerstag, d. 24. Feb., und Freitag, d. 25. Feb., 1910.

6. Carl Heinz Hill: *Friedrich August Strubberg. Zu seinem hundertsten Geburtstage. Die Heimstatt*. Beilage zur *Gelnhäuser Zeitung*. Nr. 3. 1. März, 1907.

7. Letters in the possession of the Thorbecke family, relatives of the author in Mannheim.

8. Autobiographical material in Strubberg's works.

9. Personal recollections gathered from friends of the author.

² The date of Strubberg's birth has been subject to frequent error. Franz Bornmüller's *Biographisches Schriftstellerlexikon der Gegenwart*, Lpz., 1882; Brümmer's *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Lpz., 1901; Heinrichsen's *Das literarische Deutschland*, Berlin, 1891-92; Ludwig Fränkel in the *A. D. B.*; and the lexika of Meyer and Brockhaus, all give the date of his birth as May 18, 1808.

On a little note, however, which was written by the author's mother, and now in the possession of Frau Inspektor Lenkmann of Kassel, we read:

Unser lieber Fritz ist geboren d. 18ten März, 1806, abends um halb ölfte. D. 2ten März 1807 lief er allein. D. 20ten Juni wurden ihm die Schutzboken eingepfist.

Further proof is the inscription in the *Kirchenbuch der Oberneustädter französischen Gemeinde, Kassel*: Geboren 18. März, 1806. Frédéric Armand, Sohn des Kauf- und Handelsmanns Henri Frédéric Strubberg—Elise Marville, getauft 13. April, 1806.

The *Casseler Policy- und Commerciens-Zeitung*, 21. April, 1806, includes among those baptized from April 9-15, 1806, in the Oberneustädter französischen Gemeinde, Frédéric Armand, Sohn des Kauf- und Handelsmanns Henri Frédéric Strubberg.

Accordingly Armand, which Strubberg employed as his nom de plume, is not an assumed, but a baptismal name. The form Friedrich August Strubberg, which occasionally appears, is therefore not warranted.

widow of the Dutch general, Count Wilmsdorf-Brevendorf, which marriage was dissolved in 1720, when the Landgrave married the Queen of Sweden and himself ascended the Swedish throne. Of the above morganatic marriage was born one daughter, Anna Amalie, who married Christian Heinrich Strubberg (councillor of the board of domains in Cleve)³ in 1741. Of this marriage was born Friedrich Rudolph Strubberg (later Kommerzienrat in Emmerich). The latter married Emilie Cordesse. At the birth of their son Heinrich Friedrich in 1762 the parents resided in Holland. Heinrich Friedrich, the father of our author, however, had later come to Kassel at the instance of his brother-in-law, Andries Hendrik Thorbecke, a tobacco merchant in Kassel, who had participated in the endeavors to rescue the treasures of the electoral house of Hessen from the French and was obliged to flee to Holland.⁴ Heinrich Friedrich Strubberg developed in time an extensive tobacco trade and became one of the most influential and respected citizens in old Kassel. In 1804 he had married the talented Frederique Elise Marville, daughter of Armand François Marville, Kanzleiregistrator to Landgrave Friedrich II.⁵ At the time of the author's birth, the parents occupied what was in those days considered a palatial residence situated on Oberkönigstrasse near the Royal Palace.⁶ Adjoining the residence was a beautiful garden with a greenhouse whose rare plants even attracted the Landgrave to visit the Strubbergs personally.

Heinrich Friedrich Strubberg's wealth, his position as one of the foremost tobacco merchants in Germany, the aristocratic manner in which he conducted his household, and not least his

³ Cf. The Strubberg "Stammbaum" in the possession of the Thorbecke family in Mannheim.

See also the Strubberg letters in the *Appendix* of this work.

⁴ Cf. *Zum Stammbaum der Familie Strubberg in Hessenland*. Nr. 4, 1912.

⁵ See *Die Familie Strubberg*. Von Archivar Dr. Karl Knetsch-Marburg, *Hessenland*. Nr. 3, 1912.

⁶ The house has since been rebuilt and is now occupied by the Residenz-Café. To the rear, now Wolfschlucht 12, is an old structure which was formerly the tobacco warehouse of the Strubbergs. It has been transformed into a dwelling-house, but is still known to the older citizens of Kassel as the "Tabaksdose."

cultured and artistic wife, placed the family among the most influential in Kassel. The Strubberg home was the gathering place for the local literary coterie, among which were such poets as Dingelstedt and Ernst Koch, the author of *Prinz Rosa Stramin*.⁷

Among such happy and stimulating surroundings Fritz Strubberg spent his earliest years. In spite of the fact that the father was greatly hampered in his vast business enterprise by the Napoleonic embargo, his son was given the best instruction that wealth could afford. Nor was his physical education neglected; especially was he trained to ride and shoot, accomplishments which were in his later life to prove of great advantage to him. But above all else, the untiring activity, the energy, and integrity of his father, were the factors that conduced most to the molding of his son's strong individuality.

In 1822 Fritz Strubberg, then an alert, well-knit youth of sixteen, went to Bremen and entered one of the large mercantile houses there as an unsalaried clerk. He was to fit himself for a business career. International traffic such as he had full opportunity to witness and know intimately in this old sea-port town only enthused him the more and determined him to become a merchant. In a short time he had won the recognition of his employers and been promoted to a more responsible position. Strubberg was at this time a tall, slender youth with noble, well-defined features and fascinating manners. He already possessed that chivalry of deportment and certain justifiable consciousness of power which characterized his later life.

In 1826 Strubberg had won the affections of Antoinette, the daughter of Johann Gottfried Sattler, a prominent merchant in Bremen. A cousin of the young lady, who himself had hoped to win her hand, in a fit of jealousy openly sought a quarrel with the young lover. The result was a duel, in which Strubberg shot and wounded his rival to such a degree that he found it wisest to flee. And whither? To the German youth of that day there

⁷ Cf. Jeanette Bramer: *Aus "Armand's" Leben, Hessenland, 1899.* S. 150, 151.

could be only one answer: America! Strubberg at once embarked on a vessel thither. For the next three years he remained in America, making extensive journeys there for various mercantile houses. Strubberg wove most of the episodes of his long and varied life in America into his novels. Concerning this first stay in America he is unfortunately remarkably silent. Very little can therefore be said of this period of his life with any degree of definiteness. These few verses at the beginning of the twentieth chapter of his novel *Bis in die Wildniss*:

"Selbst sollst den Schutz du deiner Ehre geben.
Doch dazu mußt ein guter Schutz du sein,
Wirfst in die Schaal' du dann dein eigen Leben
Gehöret jedes andre Leben dein!"—

possibly refer to the duel in Bremen. In the same Strubberg lets the hero Armand (the author himself), who is making a journey to America, pass a few remarks concerning a previous visit: "Er hatte schon früher, beinahe noch Knabe, eine Reise nach Amerika gemacht und dasselbe von Norden nach Süden durchwandert und nun wieder eine Reihe von Jahren in seiner deutschen Heimath unter den Freunden seiner Jugend verlebt."⁸ Of the same visit he again remarks: ". . . ich habe eigentlich nur den Norden Amerika's besucht und bin nicht weiter nach Süden gekommen, als nach Nord-Carolina."⁹ In a later work, in which Strubberg again introduces himself as Armand, he says: "Es war im Frühling des Jahres 1828, als die schlanke amerikanische Brigg, Lady Adams, sich auf der im Sonnenlichte spiegelnden und glänzenden Chesapeake-Bai hinaufschaukelte und einen einzelnen Passagier, einen noch sehr jungen Deutschen, Namens Armand, der neuen Welt zutrug."¹⁰

In October, 1828, he visited Niagara Falls.¹¹ His impres-

⁸ See Armand's *Bis in die Wildniss*. 2. Aufl. 1863, p. 16.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 75.

¹⁰ See Armand's *Der Krösus von Philadelphia*. Weimar, 1895. Vol. II, p. 243.

¹¹ This visit is confirmed by a photograph of a sketch of Niagara Falls, now in the possession of Herrn Franz Beck, Gelnhausen. It is signed:—F. A. Strubberg, 6. Oktober, 1828.

sions he afterwards used to good purpose.¹² Strubberg had prospered in his work and had every reason to look forward to a successful career in America, when circumstances in his father's business affairs led him to return to Germany late in the autumn of 1829.

The extensive business of Strubberg's father, in consequence of the unfortunate duty which the many petty German principalities at that time selfishly imposed on each other, was gradually being ruined. Heinrich Strubberg had built up his business on a scale that demanded the patronage of all Germany, but in consequence of the high duties on all tobacco products, he was dependent for his sales mainly on the electoral principality of Hessen-Kassel, and these sales were relatively so small that the invested capital could no longer yield the necessary dividends.

Strubberg therefore remained with his father and gave him his support in this financial crisis, in the hope that the German Embargo Association, which was about to be organized, would bring relief. The next seven or eight years were devoted to his father's business, years concerning which we know little. Strubberg appears to have established a branch to his father's tobacco industry in the near-by town of Münden. Meanwhile this financial crisis had apparently no effect on the extravagant mode of life the Strubberg family had hitherto enjoyed. Concerning the appearance and actions of our author during these years, W. Bennecke, a personal friend of Strubberg's, has left us a few interesting remarks: "Strubberg's Eltern machten in Kassel ein grosses Haus und der damals in voller Jugendblüthe stehende Fritz erschien als der verzogene Liebling des Glücks. Es wehte durch jene Zeit noch ein romantischer Zug, und man scheute sich nicht, denselben auch im Äusseren zu erkennen zu geben. Der junge Strubberg besass eine glühende Phantasie, eine aussprechende Persönlichkeit und war der Sohn eines reichen Kaufherrn, was fehlte ihm also, um der Löwe des Tages zu sein? Noch erinnerte man sich seiner, wie er über den Friedrichsplatz, von aus-

¹² See Armand's *Der Sprung vom Niagarafalle*, 1864. Vol. II, p. 205 f.

Also Armand's *Ralph Norwood*, 1860. Vol. IV, p. 140 f.

Also Armand's *Vornehm und Bürgerlich in the Krefelder Zeitung*, 1878.

erlesenen Rüden begleitet im phantastischen Kostüm à la *Abälino* zur Jagd auszog und die Bewunderung der Damen erregte."¹³ This child of fortune was only too soon to face the bitter realities of life. The Strubbergs were incapable of placing the business on a sure footing again, and the industry passed into other hands. Young Strubberg was henceforth obliged to depend on his own resources. His adventurous spirit again directed his attention to the New World. At the close of the thirties we see him bound once more for America, where he hoped no doubt to realize even his fondest dreams. Practically our only source for a more detailed account of his life in America are those parts of his works in which he has chosen to recount his own experiences.

This second journey to America Strubberg has described in his work *Bis in die Wildniss*, the hero of which is Armand, under which name we recognize the author himself. While Strubberg has no doubt permitted himself a certain literary freedom, the general account of his travels as outlined in this work, may be considered fairly reliable. Strubberg appears to have embarked at Rotterdam for New Orleans, journeyed thence by water to Mobile and overland to Charleston, S. C. After a short rest he proceeded to Wilmington, N. C., and thence by rail to Richmond, Virginia; here he took a steamer to Baltimore, and then journeyed by rail to New York, where he became a commission merchant for European houses. While New York was apparently his center, he seems also to have conducted shipments in the ports of Baltimore, Richmond and Havana.

His thorough business ability soon acquired for him a certain position of respect, which gave him entrance to superior social circles. In New York Strubberg became engaged to a young American heiress, but again met a bitter opponent in the person of a cousin, who endeavored to hinder the marriage of the young lady with the intention of himself becoming heir to her estate.¹⁴ The outcome was a pistol duel in which Strubberg killed the

¹³ W. Bennecke: *Aus Armand's Leben* in Hessenland. Nr. 9, Kassel, 2. Mai, 1889.

¹⁴ Cf. Otfried Mylius: *Kölnische Zeitung*, 18. Aug., 1889.

See also Armand's *Bis in die Wildniss*. Vol. III, p. 115 f.

cousin and was obliged to leave New York in haste in order to escape legal prosecution. He also found it expedient to assume another name. In *Bis in die Wildniss* the name is Mr. Frederik, but it is more probable that he already assumed that name under which he lived many years on the Texan frontier, namely: Schubbert. On fleeing from New York Strubberg went by rail to Cincinnati by way of Philadelphia, Baltimore and Pittsburgh, arriving in Cincinnati on the evening of the fifth day. This episode in Strubberg's life so like that which he had suffered in Germany in his earlier years, seems to have embittered him against society, and he resolved to seek happiness on the extreme frontier, where culture and an unnatural civilization had not yet made their blighting inroads. The thought that genuine happiness can only exist away from the complicated conditions of modern life, and the Rousseauian idea that life is at its best when nearest to nature, had taken firm root in his mind and can be traced through most of his works. "Ja," says Armand, wearied by misfortunes, and longing for the peace and quiet of frontier life, "alter treuer Freund, ich gehe da hin, wo sie mich wohl nicht stören werden." "Doch nicht nach Europa zurück?" "Nein, nicht aus dem Regen in die Traufe; ich bin es müde, Rody, wie ein Ball von dem Schicksal herum geworfen zu werden, . . ."¹⁸

With a view to finding a suitable place for settlement in Texas, Strubberg boarded a vessel at Cincinnati for the Mississippi. A short distance from Louisville, the steamer, through an accident, sank, but Strubberg after some difficulty, succeeded with others in reaching the shore. Later the vessel was raised and he regained his possessions, but their condition was such that he was obliged to equip himself anew for further travel. While Strubberg was delayed in Louisville, Kentucky, he made the acquaintance of a German Professor in the Medical School of that place, who took an interest in his fellow countryman. He tried to persuade Strubberg to remain and study medicine. "Louisville," says Strubberg, "ist eine der solidesten Universitäten der Vereinigten Staaten, und namentlich war damals als die medi-

¹⁸ See Armand's *Bis in die Wildniss*. Vol. III, p. 127.

cinische Facultät besonders gut besetzt."¹⁶ Strubberg thought a knowledge of medicine must certainly be of frequent use to him in his prospective remote life. He allowed himself therefore to be persuaded, attended the medical school with untiring zeal for two years, and received the diploma of Doctor of Medicine.¹⁷ He now went to Memphis accompanied by a bloodhound, which was to be for many years his tried and faithful friend. Here he bought a fine white stallion, the "Schimmelhengst Zaar," which plays so prominent a rôle in several of his novels. This stallion was sired by one of the six Berber stallions presented to President Taylor by the Sultan of Morocco. From Memphis, Strubberg journeyed down the Mississippi to New Orleans, where he visited the English Consul Stamford¹⁸ in order to consult him about the proposed trip to the West of Texas. Returning to Memphis and taking possession of the stallion, he crossed the Mississippi and proceeded westward. Cutting across Arkansas by way of Little Rock, he reached the border town of Ultima Thule (not a fictitious name); thence he proceeded through a section of Choctaw Indian land, crossed the Red River and now found himself on Texan territory. After several days the small town of Dallas was reached. Following a mighty stream which he supposed from the maps of the Consul to be the Rio Grande, he met a larger river into which the former emptied. This was the Rio Grande, and the former the Rio Puerco. Following a buffalo path, he arrived after several days at the banks of the Leona with which he was to become so closely associated during the following years. Speaking of this spot, he says: "Der Reichthum des Bodens, die Schönheit der Umgebung, die Üppigkeit der Pflanzenwelt und die Masse des Wildes aller Art, das

¹⁶ See *Bis in die Wildniss*. Vol. III, p. 159.

¹⁷ Strubberg was never reluctant in speaking of his own merits, whether real or imagined. He seems to have taken great pride in being termed Doctor. In his works he is constantly alleviating sick people. In Texas he is still known as Doctor Schubbert. In Gelnhausen, where he spent his last years, he is still spoken of as Doctor Strubberg. In one of his letters (see Appendix) he writes: "Ich zählte damals zu einem der ersten Ärzte Amerikas. . . ."

¹⁸ Stamford, according to Strubberg, had written a book on Texas, which the writer has, however, not been able to find.

diese Fluren bewohnte, bestimmten ihn, diesen Ort zu seinem Wohnsitz zu machen, . . ."¹⁹

Strubberg had at last found a suitable place and now returned to Memphis to make final arrangements. Journeying by way of San Antonio, he rode northeast over vast prairie lands, crossed the Colorado to Austin, then the seat of government of the Republic of Texas, proceeded by way of Nacogdoches to Natchez, whence he returned by steamer to Memphis. Here he advertised for a few trustworthy men, who would be willing to share with him the solitude of the wilderness, and the trials and hardships which such a life would certainly entail. He succeeded in finding three such men:²⁰ one by profession a saddler, another a carpenter, and a third an agriculturalist.

With these men, one wagon, one cart, horses, mules, cattle, and his bloodhound, Strubberg now set out for the chosen spot along the Leona. From Memphis the party was conveyed by a steamer to the mouth of the Red River, whence another steamer was taken to Shreveport, near Lake Caddo. From the latter place they reached the Leona by way of San Antonio.

In the following opening lines of his first work, the author has described his lonely frontier home: "An dem Fusse der Berge des Rio Grande (Rio Bravo), den Ausläufern der Cordilleren, an den steilen hohen Ufern der Leone, eines der vielen östlichen Nebenflüsse dieses gewaltigen Stromes des westlichen Amerikas, stand meine Wohnung, welche auf den drei vorderen Seiten mit einer vierzehn Fuss hohen Wand von aufrecht stehenden gespaltenen Bäumen umgeben war. An den beiden vorderen Ecken dieser Einzäunung waren kleine Vorbauten von demselben Material angebracht, um für den Fall eines Angriffes durch die feindlichen Indianer die Seiten jener Pallisadirung beschiessen zu können. Auf der südlichen Seite des Flusses, auf welcher ich wohnte, streckten sich unabsehbare wellenförmige, üppige Grasflächen (Prairien) seinen Ufern entlang, während die nördliche Seite mehrere Stunden breit mit dem dichtesten Urwald bedeckt war.

¹⁹ *Bis in die Wildniss.* Vol. IV, p. 186.

²⁰ According to Strubberg they were Germans.
See Amerikan. Jagd- u. Reise-Abenteuer, p. 1.

Nach Westen und Norden hatte ich durchaus keine civilisirte Nachbarschaft, und auch gegen Osten und Süden war die nächste Ansiedelung mindestens achtzig Stunden von mir entfernt."²¹ Further on he speaks of the interior of his home: "Mein Haus bestand nur aus einem grossen Zimmer, dessen Wände und Decke mit den schönsten dunkelgelockten Büffelhäuten tapeziert waren, während den Fussboden ein Teppich von glatten Sommerhirschhäuten überzog. Mein Bett deckte die Haut eines prächtig gefleckten Jaguars und vor demselben breitete sich eine rabenschwarze Bärenhaut aus, auf welcher Trust sein Lager hatte."²²

Here in this lonely frontier home Strubberg spent a number of happy years under the assumed name of Dr. Schubbert.²³ The arrival of a white man was a great event for the secluded pioneers. Once in a long while a trapper or bee hunter chanced by. Being eighty hours from the nearest settlement it was very seldom indeed that Strubberg came into touch with the exterior world. Several times during the year he packed the accumulated hides, as well as wax and tallow, on mules and carried them to market, returning with implements, powder and lead, and such provisions as their own cattle and cultivated soil did not yield. At such times mail was deposited and received, a fresh store of books was obtained,²⁴ and then communication with the outer world was again interrupted for six months.

The writer has taken the liberty of describing at length Strubberg's advance to the West and his settlement on the extreme frontier of Texas, for the reason that this pioneer (in the truest sense of the word) had penetrated farther West in that specific territory than any other white man, if we perhaps except a chance trapper or bee hunter. That he should have settled here and remained for several years encouraging others to settle in those remote and dangerous parts, is a fact which must be of the great-

²¹ See *Amerikan. Jagd- u. Reise-Abenteuer*, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²³ How long S. remained here can not be stated with definiteness. We are inclined to judge that he remained here about four or five years.

²⁴ From *Amerikan. Jagd- u. Reise-Abenteuer*, p. 33, we infer that S. had books forwarded him from New York and also from Europe.

est significance to the student of the cultural history of the Germans in America.

"Allein der Deutsche stand in diesen Reichen,
Die keines Weissen Fuss vor ihm beschritt;
Die Wildniss trug nicht der Gesittung Zeichen,
Nur wilder Thiere, wilder Menschen Tritt."²⁵

But this idyllic life here on the rolling prairies far from the haunts of men was not long to remain undisturbed. News of Strubberg's settlement, his successes there, the richness of the soil, the desirability of the climate, had reached the Eastern States, and it was not long till other pioneers advanced and settled in the same vicinity. Many of them were outcasts of society, who had come to the West to satisfy their own greedy desires and to indulge those passions, which society did not permit. Later, too, the Southern slave-owner advanced and took up huge plantations. Within a few years the once beautiful hunting-grounds had been converted into vast cotton fields. Strubberg had fled from society only to be again overtaken by it. The fortress on the Leona had come to be undesirable and its owner sought new fields of activity.

Strubberg now entered upon one of the most interesting years in his adventurous career, namely: the year in which he was associated with the "Mainzer Adels-Verein." On account of the significance of the "Verein" in Strubberg's later literary activity and the fact that his connections with the same have never been accurately stated, it may be permitted to dwell somewhat at length upon the matter.

Texas, as a part of Mexico, had been under Spanish rule up to the year 1821. In the same year Mexico declared itself independent of Spain, and from that time really dates the beginning of colonization in Texas. In 1821 a band of fifty-three men of various nationalities landed on the coast of Texas. They had come from New Orleans. Of these fifty-three men six were

²⁵ See *Friedrichsburg: ein Gedenkblatt zum Jubiläum der Ansiedlung*. Von F. H. Lohmann. In the *Fest-Ausgabe zum 50-jährigen Jubiläum der Gründung der deutschen Kolonie Friedrichsburg*. Friedrichsburg, 1896. After this *Fest-Ausgabe*.

Germans, probably the first German settlers in Texas.²⁶ The government of Mexico, desirous of colonizing its border state Texas, assigned large grants of land for that purpose to various colonizers (*Empressarios*) who had pledged themselves to get a certain number of families to settle on the said land. These colonizers found a ready support in the planters of the South, in whose minds the plan to separate Texas from Mexico and incorporate it into the United States as a slave state, thus gaining new support in Congress for their own interests, seems already to have been present.²⁷ March 2, 1836, Texas declared its independence and proclaimed itself a republic. The *Empressarios* who had earlier received grants of land from the Mexican government, now desired to attract German immigrants, and to that end advertised in the papers and sent out agents. Many German immigrants were thus led to suitable settlements; others unfortunately fell victims to self-interested land sharks.

In 1842 a movement was begun in Germany to organize German emigration to Texas. To Count Karl of Kastell, an officer in the Austrian garrison in the fortress at Mainz, belongs the credit of organizing. April 20, 1842, about fourteen German princes and counts gathered in Biebrich on the Rhine. The following document was drawn up and signed: "Wir Endesunterschriebene erklären andurch dass wir zum Zwecke Ankaufs von Ländereien im Freistaate Texas unter heutigem Datum uns als Gesellschaft constituirt haben. Biebrich, den 20. April 1842."

On the same day it was resolved that two of the number should be sent to Texas to investigate territories suitable for colonization. Counts Boos-Waldeck and Victor Leiningen were appointed to undertake the journey. They sailed in May, 1842. Count Leiningen requested a grant of land from the Texan government for colonizing purposes with the condition that the colonists be exempt from taxes for the first several years, which condition was, however, not approved by the government. The Count insisted but was finally obliged to return to Germany

²⁶ See *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 18.

²⁷ Cf. Franz Löher: *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*. Cincinnati, 1847, p. 348 f.

defeated in his plans. Count Boos-Waldeck, however, remained in Texas, established the Nassau plantation and finally withdrew his membership in the "Verein."

In June, 1843, the "Verein" was reorganized into a stock company. At a General Assembly held March 25, 1844, a constitution was adopted. It was further declared that the "Verein" was to foster no financial or political projects.²⁸ The company was to dedicate itself solely to the organizing, aiding, and conducting of emigrants to Texas. Its official name was to be: *Gesellschaft zum Schutze der deutschen Auswanderer nach Texas*. It was popularly called the "Mainzer Adelsverein" or simply the "Adelsverein."

Prinz Karl zu Solms-Braunfels, who had been appointed general agent for the company, sailed with d'Orvanne for Texas in May, 1844. This d'Orvanne was a French land speculator, who had sold the company a land contract which, as was afterwards found, was already null at the time of purchase. In the absence of these two, the company was gulled once more by the two German land speculators, Fischer and Miller, who had sold the company a grant of land lying so far in the interior of Texas, that no one had ever seen it. It was later discovered that the grant bought from Fischer and Miller was in reality no grant at all. It was simply a contract, which stated that, if a third of 6000 families had settled on said land by March 1, 1846; that if, further, each colonist had dwelt on the estate assigned to him three consecutive years, built a house, and hedged in and tilled fifteen acres of land, then the estate was to become that colonist's property.

Meanwhile the company was making all arrangements for its first shipment of emigrants to Texas in the autumn of 1844. The company had advertised its projects through the length and breadth of Germany. Each adult emigrant, on payment of 300 gulden, was to receive 40 acres of land and free passage; the

²⁸ The entirely disinterested purpose of the "Verein" has been questioned. Cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 23.

Cf. also W. von Rosenberg: *Kritik der Geschichte des Vereins zum Schutze der deutschen Auswanderer nach Texas*. Fredericksburg, Texas.

father of every family on payment of 600 gulden was to receive 80 acres of land and free passage for all the members of his family. In the first year 150 families had made arrangements with the company to emigrate.

Prinz Solms had endeavored to reach the lands specified by Fischer's and Miller's so-called grant. The farther the Prince penetrated Texas, however, the more he became convinced that the remoteness of the land, and its location among hostile Indian tribes made settlement there quite out of the question. The responsibility of his position demanded action. Upon the suggestion of the German botanist Lindheimer,²⁹ who had been in Texas and Mexico for some time, the Prince resolved to purchase a tract of land at the confluence of the Comal and the Guadalupe rivers and on the road from the coast to the so-called grant.

In November, 1844, the "Johann Detthard," a Bremen ship, brought the first immigrants; in December of the same year, the "Ferdinand" and the "Herschel" arrived, bringing in all about 700 persons. In March, 1845, they were conducted to the land bought along the Guadalupe by Prinz Solms, and the settlement was called Neu-Braunfels after Prinz Solms' ancestral home on the Lahn. February 24, 1845, Herr von Meusebach was appointed to succeed Prinz Solms as general agent, Prinz Solms returning to Germany. In December of the same year Meusebach was informed that the "Verein" was transporting 4304 more emigrants. In view of the arrival of so great a number of people Meusebach sent an expedition to make roads and clear a tract of 1000 acres of land on the north bank of the Pierdenales, about 80 miles northwest of Neu-Braunfels. This was to become the town of Friedrichsburg,³⁰ named for Friedrich von Preussen, a member of the "Adelsverein." Meanwhile over 4000 immigrants had been landed on the coast of Texas. For various rea-

²⁹ Cf. *Wanderungen durch Texas*, etc., von Frederick Law Olmsted, aus dem Englischen. Leipzig, 1857, p. 120 f.

³⁰ W. Bennecke in *Hessenland*, Nr. 10, 2. Mai, 1889, erroneously supposes the town to be named for Friedrich Strubberg. Here Strubberg is also termed the "Städtegründer," for which extravagant title Strubberg is probably himself responsible.

sons they could not be transported from the coast to their destination. Conveyances could only be had at exorbitant prices, because they were then demanded for use in the war with Mexico; also the weather had made the new roads quite impassable. The colonists were obliged to camp on the coast where they found miserable shelter in wooden sheds, tents, and mud huts. The winter of 1845-1846 was a very rainy one. The wretched climate, poor food, and insufficient shelter, brought on contagious diseases, which, in addition to moral disintegration, reduced these unfortunate immigrants to the lowest depths of misery. About 250 had enlisted during this time in the army and fought against Mexico, only too glad to get away from such pitiable surroundings; others were scattered about the immediate vicinity; still others started in small groups on the road to Neu-Braunfels, leaving a trail of graves behind them. Those who arrived in the settlements of Neu-Braunfels and Friedrichsburg were only welcomed by further want and disease. It is estimated that 1000 immigrants perished in this unfortunate colonizing venture.

Such was the condition of affairs, when Dr. Schubbert, in whom we recognize Strubberg, was recommended to Meusebach as a capable physician and colonizer, and appointed by the latter as colonial director of Friedrichsburg. In *Friedrichsburg, die Colonie des deutschen Fürsten-Vereins in Texas*, Strubberg speaks at length of the founding of Friedrichsburg. Calling himself Dr. Schubbert,³¹ he writes:—"Schon mehrere Tausend der Unglücklichen waren Opfer der Verhältnisse geworden, als man Doctor Schubbert zu Hülfe rief, ihm das Directorium übergab, und er zugleich die Behandlung sämtlicher Kranken übernahm. Er liess diese aus dem Urwald an der Guadalupe, wo sie Hütte an Hütte und Zelt an Zelt zusammen gedrängt lagen, hinaus in das Freie schaffen, worauf die Krankheit bald ihren epidemischen böartigen Charakter verlor, bald war sie vollständig beseitigt, und nur die Nachwehen zeigten sich noch in gut-artiger Weise als leichte intermittirende Fieber.

³¹ Strubberg uses the form "Schubbert"; his contemporary colonists use "Schubert" in the *Fest-Ausgabe*.

"Doctor Schubbert sorgte nun für bessere Verpflegung der Schutzbefohlenen des Vereins, sowie für den Transport derer, die noch an der Seeküste lagerten, er gründete ein Waisenhaus und brachte die vielen älternlosen verlassenen Kinder darin unter, und er trat versöhnend und vermittelnd zwischen die Generaldirection und die Emigranten. Nachdem die Zustände in Neu-Braunfels wieder ein freundlicheres Ansehen gewonnen hatten, führte er gegen fünfzig Familien hundert Meilen weiter nördlich in die Gebirge, wo jenseits des Pierdenalesflusses die zweite Niederlassung, die Stadt Friedrichsburg, gebaut wurde."²²

From this passage it is at once apparent, that Strubberg has introduced his experiences with a good deal of literary freedom. From it we infer that he was also active in Neu-Braunfels which is, however, not corroborated by any external historical evidence. He attempts throughout the above-named work to give us a clear picture of the "Verein's" attempts at colonization and only naturally speaks of his own service in rather glowing terms.

However effective Strubberg may have been in his capacity of colonial director, his character as Doctor Schubbert seems to have been held in disfavor by some of the early colonists. In the *Fest-Ausgabe*, the only detailed source, exclusive of Strubberg's own works, for this period of the author's life, the following incidents regarding Strubberg as Kolonial-Direktor Schubbert are related:²³

"Durch H. F. Fischer wurde Meusebach in Houston ein Dr. Schubert als tüchtiger Arzt und Kolonisor empfohlen und daraufhin als Arzt und Verwalter von ihm in der neuen Niederlassung Friedrichsburg angestellt, während Meusebach selber bei den wohlhabenden Amerikanern am Brazos und Colorado Mais auf Credit ankaupte und Fuhrwerke zur Beförderung der Emigranten zu engagieren suchte."²⁴

"Ich meldete mich bei dem neu creirten Direktor der Kolo-

²² *Friedrichsburg*. Leipzig, 1867, p. 33 f.

²³ The following remarks are taken bodily from the various contributions which make up the *Fest-Ausgabe*. Many are very casual indeed, but all shed light on the character of the author.

²⁴ *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 50.

nie Friedrichsburg, Dr. Schubert (Struhbach), und wurde mit hochtönenden Worten angenommen."³⁵

"Um den 10. oder 12. Juni 1846 bekam ich den Auftrag, einen Emigrantenzug zu begleiten, der sich ausserhalb Braunfels bildete. . . . Herr Schubert besuchte uns im Lager und ich erhielt noch verschiedene Instruktionen von ihm bezüglich einiger leicht kranker Personen."³⁶

"Inzwischen hatte Dr. Schubert in Friedrichsburg eine miserable Wirthschaft geführt und schliesslich eine Compagnie Soldaten gebildet und mit dieser unter Mitnahme der Vereinskanone einen Zug nach dem Grant-Lande unternommen. Er kam aber nur bis an die Grenze des Comanche-Indianer-Gebietes—dem Llanofluss—wo er wieder umkehrte, ohne einen ernstlichen Versuch zum Weitervordringen zu machen. Er berichtete an Meusebach, der ihm nie einen Auftrag dieser Art ertheilt hatte, es sei möglich weiter zu kommen."³⁷

"Dieses und der böse Eindruck, welchen Schubert's unüberlegter und missglückter Zug gemacht hatte, bewog Meusebach, selber mit 20 Mann und 3 Wagen im Januar 1847 von Friedrichsburg nach dem Lande der Comanche-Indianer aufzubrechen. . . . Als er dann nach dreimonatlicher Abwesenheit im Indianergebiete nach Neu-Braunfels zurückgekehrt war, legte er am 20. Juli 1847 sein Amt als General-Agent des Adelvereins nieder, nicht ohne vorher noch den sauberen Dr. Schubert seiner Stelle in Friedrichsburg entsetzt zu haben."³⁸

"Schubert (alias Struhberg) war nach der Farm Nassau gezogen, für welche er einen Pachtkontrakt hatte. Spies gerieth, wahrscheinlich beeinflusst durch andere Interessirte, auf die unselige Idee, Schubert mit Gewalt von der Farm Nassau zu vertreiben. Es kam zum nächtlichen Kampfe, bei welchem der Maler Rohrdorf erschossen wurde. Spies und Genossen wurden daraufhin unter die Anklage des Mordes gestellt und dieser Prozess kostete dem Verein ziemlich viel Geld."³⁹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51 f.

³⁸ *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 52.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

"Schubert kam (so glaube ich) im Oktober,⁴⁰ und musste gleich ein Extra-Bretter-Haus für ihn und eine Küche für seine Köchin, eine verwitwete Frau Werthmann, gebaut werden. Er brachte ein ganzes Gefolge ihm treu ergebener Personen mit, die jedem seiner Winke gehorchten."⁴¹

"Wir waren in der Richtung nach dem "Bullhead" aufgebrochen und hatten bald den "House Mountain" in Sicht. Verschiedene Hirsche, Wildkatzen und Muskhogs wurden unterwegs geschossen. Es war ziemlich warm, als wir in der Nähe des genannten Berges waren und einer der Parasiten, die auf Vereinskosten lebten und nichts dafür leisteten (von der Bevölkerung "Vereins-Lumpen" genannt), ein Kapitän Gunst von den Carliten in Spanien, legte etwas von seinem Gepäck welches er auf dem Pferd hatte, auf den Gepäck-Wagen. Schubert sah dies, und da er Gunst nicht gut leiden mochte, sagte er zu ihm: "Ein schlechtes Schaf, das seine Wolle nicht tragen kann!" Gunst nahm dies sehr übel auf, und so viel ich erfuhr, war eine Forderung zum Duell die Folge. Ob dasselbe stattfand, kann ich nicht sagen, doch lag Gunst in Friedrichsburg später an einem Schuss im Unterleib krank und erschoss sich später selbst."⁴²

"Nach zwei Tagen, gerade am Neujahrstage 1847, langten wir gegen Mittag auf den Palo Alto-Hügeln an, wo abermals ein Kanonenschuss abgefeuert wurde, um unsere Ankunft anzumelden. Wir kamen Nachmittags an und Herr Schubert wurde feierlich empfangen. . . . In Folge verschiedener Meinungen auf dieser Reise fanden zwei Duellforderungen statt. . . . Zwischen Bene und Schubert kam es nicht zum Austrage, weil Schubert als ausgezeichnete Schütze bekannt war, und Bene sich deshalb nur übers Schnupftuch mit ihm schießen wollte, damit die Chancen gleich wären. Schubert nahm das nicht an, denn dafür war ihm sein Leben zu lieb, und hat jedenfalls im Stillen klein beigegeben, denn man hörte später nicht mehr davon."⁴³

"1847 wurde mit dem Bau des Octagons auf dem öffentli-

⁴⁰ Strubberg was in all probability already in Friedrichsburg in the spring of the same year.

⁴¹ *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 68.

⁴² *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 69 f.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 71 f.

chen Plätze, nach Anordnung des Schubert, begonnen, um als allgemeine Kirche zu dienen."⁴⁴

"Es war im Sommer 1848, als Schubert uns verliess, um von der Farm Nassau Besitz zu ergreifen."⁴⁵

"Zwei der erklärten Feinde von Schubert waren ausersehen, Herrn Schubert und die Familie v. Sawicz nach der Farm Nassau zu bringen. Ein Herr Thiele und meine Persönlichkeit, zum grossen Ärger von Schubert."⁴⁶

"Ich kann nicht unterlassen, eine Bemerkung über den Rechts-Zustand in der Kolonie zu machen. Wir gehörten, ehe Gillespie County organisiert wurde, zu Bexar County. Es war ein weiter und gefährvoller Weg dorthin. Die Gerechtigkeitspflege nahm deshalb jeder in seine Hand und es galt oft das Recht des Stärkeren. Wer z. B. sich missliebig über Herrn Schubert und seine Verwaltung äusserte, musste "pater peccavi" sagen oder wurde ausgewiesen.—Zum Beispiel: Ein Mann Namens Bernstein, der ein Fuhrwerk des Vereins trieb, sollte eines Tages nach Braunfels fahren, fühlte sich aber nicht ganz wohl. Man rieth ihm an, zum Dr. Schubert zu gehen. "Nein," sagte er, "ich gehe nicht! Der Doktor ist kein Doktor; er giebt ätzende Medizinen!" Er fuhr los und seine Aeusserung wurde Schubert hinterbracht. Sogleich wurden zwei Mann von Schubert's Schergen zu Pferde und bewaffnet nachgeschickt, um ihn zurückzubringen. Bernstein kannte Schubert's Vorleben; von ihm erfuhren wir ebenfalls, dass er Struhbach hiess. Als er ankam, nahm ihn Schubert in seine Wohnung, wo sie einige Zeit bei verriegelter Thüre blieben. Bernstein kam endlich heraus, übernahm sein Gespann und Mann und Vereinsfuhrwerk sah man niernals wieder."⁴⁷

"In dem Absetzungs-Dekret für Schubert, welches als der letzte offizielle Akt des zurückgetretenen Generalkommissärs Meusebach angesehen werden kann, wurde gleichzeitig Herr Johann Jacob v. Coll, bisheriger Rechnungsführer des Vereins, zum Kolonial-Direktor von Friedrichsburg ernannt. Ihm gebührt das

⁴⁴ *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 73.

⁴⁵ Other evidence determines this date as 1847.

⁴⁶ *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 74.

⁴⁷ *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 79 f.

Verdienst, mit gewohnter kräftiger und erfahrener Hand die unter Schubert verloddernde Vereins-Verwaltung in Friedrichsburg wieder in Ordnung gebracht zu haben."⁴⁸

"Die Zeiten der Hungersnoth und epidemisch auftretenden Krankheiten in der Kolonie Friedrichsburg waren grausam harte und verfehlten naturgemäss nicht, viele der schwächeren, verzweifelnden Charaktere, beeinflusst durch gewissenlose Beamte wie Schubert und Consorten—zu demoralisiren."⁴⁹

Friedrich Kapp, in speaking of the Friedrichsburg Colony, says: "Dabei bildeten eigennützige und gewalthätige Handlungen der untergeordneten Vereinsbeamten die Tagesordnung. Die Herren lebten, während Meusebach vergeblich im Osten Geld aufzutreiben suchte . . ., herrlich in Freuden, huldigten ihren nobelen Passionen und führten eine Willkür- und Günstlingsherrschaft ein, welche Rücksichtslosigkeit und Uebermuth auf der einen Seite, knechtische Furcht und Servilismus auf der andern im Gefolge hatte. Charakteristisch in letzterer Beziehung ist die Antwort eines Friedrichsburgers, der auf die an ihn gerichtete Frage des gewissenlosen Kolonialdirektors Schubert: "Ob er seinen Hund gesehen?" demüthig erwiderte: "Sie sind eben um die Ecke gelaufen, Herr Kolonialdirektor!"⁵⁰

The above rather disjointed citations, however derogatory they may be to Strubberg's character, are nevertheless interesting. To be sure they are strangely inconsistent with the noble character and magnanimity everywhere evident in Strubberg's works, as well as with the esteem in which he was afterwards held by his fellow-countrymen during his many remaining years in Germany. The remarks, in part contradictory and erroneous, strewn throughout the pages of the *Fest-Ausgabe*, were gathered from reminiscences of aged colonists fifty years after those troublesome days, one of whom at least was the confessed enemy

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* It is interesting to observe that the colonists were aware that "Dr. Schubert" was only an assumed name. The forms "Struhberg" and "Struhbach" (used in the above remarks) show that their knowledge of his identity was very indefinite however; much less do they seem ever to have discovered that Kolonial-Direktor Schubert was afterwards the well-known novelist Armand.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Kapp: *Aus und über Amerika*. Berlin, 1876, p. 275.

of Dr. Schubbert. The impartial reader of today must unquestionably accept these remarks with some modifications.

In remarkable contradiction also to the hostile views expressed in the above citations against Dr. Schubbert, is the following most interesting document:

Hochgeehrter Herr Director!

Kaum war uns die erfreuliche Kunde von Ihrer Zurückkunft aus dem Vereinsgebiete am Llano geworden, als unsere Freude durch die Nachricht "Sie würden uns in den nächsten Tagen schon wieder verlassen," und was noch das härteste ist, auch vielleicht nicht wieder zu uns zurückkehren, auf das empfindlichste getrübt wurde.

Hoffen wir, dass letztere Nachricht unbegründet sei, und das Werk, das eigentlich in Friedrichsburg durch Sie erst begründet wurde, nicht dem Untergange preisgegeben werde, dem es leider! nur zu nahe war.

Unsre Bescheidenheit verbietet es uns Ihnen, verehrtester Mann! alle die Verdienste aufzuzählen, die Sie sich in der kurzen Zeit Ihres Hierseins um uns erworben haben. Sie waren es, der uns als Hülfe erschien, da die Not und das Elend am höchsten war. Sie waren der rettende Engel, da Sie vielen von uns und unseren Kindern durch Ihre aufopfernde Hingebung Leben und Gesundheit wiedergebracht haben. Sie haben durch Ihre rastlose Thätigkeit für die Befriedigung unserer nothwendigsten Lebensbedürfnisse gesorgt, woran wir früher oftmals den drückenden Mangel litten, kurz Sie waren es, wodurch die Hoffnung auf eine frohe und gesicherte Zukunft von Neuem in uns belebt wurde, und Sie sollten uns verlassen? Das verhüte Gott!

Sollte es wirklich der Fall sein, sollte sich diese Schreckensnachricht wirklich bestätigen, so ist ganz Friedrichsburg in tiefster Trauer, besonders auch noch deshalb, weil Ihr Ausscheiden aus der hiesigen Direktion vielleicht auch das Scheiden des Mannes nach sich ziehen würde, der ebenfalls das allgemeine Vertrauen und die ungetheilteste Liebe aller Einwohner von Friedrichsburg sich erworben hat, eines Mannes, der sich besonders in Ihrer Abwesenheit durch seine weise Fürsorge als kluger und umsichtsvoller Geschäftsmann und zugleich als ein liebevoller Vater den Einwohnern von Friedrichsburg bewiesen hat, wir meinen unsern verehrten und allgemein geachteten Proviantmeister Herrn Bickel.

Sollten wir also Sie beide verlieren, worauf wir unser unbegrenztes, ungetheiltes Vertrauen setzen, so würde uns dadurch eine Wunde geschlagen, die so bald, ja vielleicht *nie* wieder heilen würdel

Wir wagen demnach unsere so dringende als ergebenste Bitte an Sie, uns nicht zu verlassen, oder, wenn Geschäfte oder sonstige Verhältnisse Sie von uns rufen, recht bald wieder zu uns zurückzu-

kehren, und dadurch die Sorge zu verscheuchen die durch die Nachricht von Ihrem möglichen Scheiden, so schwer auf uns lastet.

Empfangen Sie die Versicherung unserer gänzlichen Hingabe und ungetheilten Liebe.⁸¹

Friedrichsburg, d. 3. Juni 1847.

Die dankbaren Einwohner von Friedrichsburg.

Ernst Dannheim	Heinrich Leierschwohl	Philipp Klärmend
Heinrich Newig	Heinrich Winkel	Schulz
Karl Meier	Heinrich Schmitt	Conrad Wittneben
Ferdinand Schulze	Peter Engelman	Jakob D. Würzbach
Johann G. Braun	August Spilker	Ludolph Meyer
Daniel Weiershause	F. Kiehm	Johann Leyendecker I
Heinrich August	W. Tiel	Johannes Peter Keller
Heimann	Christoph Frage	N. Wamel
Christian Althaus	Kaspar Danz	C. Marschall
Friedrich Pape	Johannes Christ	Philipp Simon

Wilhelm Stieren	Conrad Plümesse
Fritz . . . Kutscher	Friedrich Budde
Susmann	Friedrich Leifeste und
Johann Nicol. Schmitt	Heinrich Leifeste
Karl Usener	Jakob Röder
A. Krieger	Gottfried Bader
Fried. Sucherd	Philipp Mahr
Schandua	Johannes Mahr
Christoph Noges	Martin Mahr
Lehrer F. Leyendecker	Heinrich Gadt
Friedrich Metzger	Peter Honig
Christian August Halm	Hermann Honig
Heinrich Jordan	Heinrich Kammlah
Johann Metzger	Conrad Welge
Jacob Harth	Christopf Brinkrolf
Johann Keller	Peter Behrens
Anton Menges	Conrad Mund
Joh. Ad. Keller	Friedrich Bahntge

H. Basse
Adolf Hermann
L. Wahrmond
Carl Wegrich
Gottlieb Fischer
Martin Hellmuth

Auf Verlangen des Herrn Direktor Schulbert beglaube ich dienstlich die vorstehenden Unterschriften der hiesigen Bürger.

Friedrichsburg, d. 20. Juni 1847.

P. BICKEL,
Friedensrichter.

⁸¹ The above document is in the possession of Herr Ebert of Gelnhausen, to whom it was given by the author.

According to the *Fest-Ausgabe*, the first immigrants arrived in Friedrichsburg in March, 1846. Soon thereafter Dr. Schubbert (Strubberg) was appointed as physician and Director of the Colony. July 20, 1847, Herr von Meusebach resigned his position as general agent, but not before Dr. Schubbert had been discharged. Strubberg's period of activity in Friedrichsburg lies therefore between March, 1846, and July 20, 1847. Soon thereafter Strubberg moved to the Nassau plantation in Fayette County, which had been cleared by Count Boos-Waldek in 1842. How long Strubberg remained here is not known.

Otfried Mylius (Karl Müller) writes: "Als der Krieg der Vereinigten Staaten mit Mexico ausbrach und Armand seiner Aufgabe, den deutschen Landsleuten beizustehen und sie vom Untergang zu bewahren, vollständig genügt hatte, konnte Armand dem Verlangen nicht widerstehen, das schöne Land Mexico kennen zu lernen und den Krieg mitzumachen. Er schiffte sich also nach Veracruz ein, nahm unter General Scott beinahe am ganzen mexicanischen Kriege teil und verliess das herrliche Land erst mit den letzten abziehenden amerikanischen Truppen."⁵² The war between Mexico and the United States continued from April, 1846, to September, 1847. Mylius' assertion cannot therefore be correct for the reason that Strubberg was for the greater part of that period active as colonial director in Friedrichsburg. If he served in the Merican War at all, and certain of his works⁵³ lead us to believe that he did, it must have been very soon after his departure from Friedrichsburg in the summer of 1847. According to Mylius, Strubberg landed in New Orleans in the spring of 1848, returning from the war. There he heard the urgent appeal for physicians in Arkansas, which was being devastated by small-pox, cholera, and fevers, and determined at once to respond to this call of distress. He provided himself with the necessary medical materials, and went to Camden on the Washita where an epidemic of fever was raging. Strubberg was greeted here as a deliverer and under his energetic and ceaseless efforts the disease

⁵² See *Kölnische Zeitung*. 18. Aug., 1889.

⁵³ Cf. *Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexikaner und Nordamerikaner*. Breslau, 1859; also *In Mexico*. Hannover, 1865.

was soon checked. Strubberg had won recognition and was induced to settle in Camden; his turbulent roving life was at last to flow in a smoother channel. He built for himself a beautiful residence, was active in his medical practice, and became engaged to a wealthy lady, apparently the owner of a plantation and holder of slaves. He was on the point of entering a life of domestic happiness when an accident occurred which was to change his entire future life. While on a chase after bears, which were then creating havoc among the cattle of the community, he was stung in his right eye by a poisonous insect and his sight was endangered. For more than a year Strubberg himself gave the eye medical treatment, but without favorable results. He finally concluded to return to Europe for a year to seek medical aid and in 1854 he sailed for France to consult eye specialists there. His efforts to gain relief during the next two years took him to Paris, Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Wiesbaden, and Marburg, but nowhere was a permanent cure effected. Strubberg had already given up all hope, when Hofrat de Loew in Gräfrath near Elberfeld was recommended to him in the highest terms. Strubberg hastened to consult him and under his attendance soon recovered.⁵⁴ The eye was saved though it had suffered in sight.⁵⁵

Concerning the effect of this incident on Strubberg's future life, Mylius says: "Allein diese Heimsuchung hatte trotz dem günstigen Erfolg der Cur doch Armands ganzer Lebensstellung einen gänzlichen Umschwung gegeben. Er musste abermals sein Leben neu aufbauen, denn mittlerweile waren alle Verhältnisse anders geworden: der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg war ausgebrochen, die Sklaven waren freigegeben, der Süden verwüstet worden. Das Eigentum, welches Armand in Arkansas zurückgelassen hatte, war zerstreut worden, seine Braut war gestorben, die Zustände in den Südstaaten waren noch ungeregelt und bedurften langer Zeit, bis Sicherheit des Eigentums und der Person wieder hergestellt waren. Armand konnte daher nicht daran denken, nach Arkansas zurückzukehren." These remarks must be

⁵⁴ Cf. Otfried Mylius in the *Köln. Zeit.*

⁵⁵ Friends of the novelist living in Gelnhausen today, told the writer that Strubberg's one eye had a gray coating over it.

taken *cum grano salis*. The civil war did not begin until 1860, at a time when Strubberg had already taken up his abode in Kassel, and two years after his first work appeared. His property in the form of slaves (and we conclude from his works that he was a slave-owner) could therefore not have been destroyed. In short, the above reasons for Strubberg's remaining away from Arkansas are unsatisfactory. In fact we know little more than that he henceforth remained in Germany.

Strubberg's only sister Emilie, an elderly maiden lady, resided in Kassel. As the daughter of the wealthy tobacco merchant she had enjoyed an unusually careful education. After the reverses in fortunes, of the Strubberg family, Emilie was obliged to resort to her accomplishments as a means of securing a livelihood. During all the long years of her brother's absence in America she had supported herself as a translator and teacher of languages.⁶⁶ It was this surviving sister who drew Strubberg back to his native city. The return to Kassel of the "Welt-Bummeler," the gallant Fritz of many years ago, is best told in the words of W. Bennecke: "Es war im Herbst des Jahres 1854 als in den Strassen Kassels, die damals noch nicht so belebt waren wie heutzutage, eine eigenartige Männergestalt, die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zog. Man fragte sich, wer der hochgewachsene Mann mit dem langen, wellenförmig gedrehten Schnurrbart, der schwarzen Binde über dem einen Auge, dem spitzen, schräg aufgestülpten Cylinder und dem grossen mit dem einen Ende über die Schulter geschlagenen Reitermantel wohl sein möge? Mit langen schnellen Schritten eilte er dahin, bei den ihm Begegnenden den Eindruck des Fremdartigen, sowie einer stürmischen Vergangenheit, hervorruhend. Der jüngeren Generation war der neue Ankömmling völlig fremd, der älteren aber war er von zwanzig, dreissig Jahren her bekannt und es hiess: "Es ist der Fritz Strubberg, der aus Amerika herübergekommen, um seine Schwester zu besuchen"."⁶⁷

⁶⁶ In the address book of Kassel for 1860 we read: "Emilie Strubberg, Lehrerin der deutschen, französischen, englischen, italienischen, spanischen, portugiesischen, holländischen und böhmischen Sprachen."

⁶⁷ See *Hessenland*, Kassel, 2. Mai, 1889.

Strubberg, however, did not at that time settle permanently in Kassel. For a long time he remained in Marburg where he received medical treatment for his eye from the celebrated physician Dr. Sonnemeyer. Then again he resided in Hannover or with his intimate friend Freiherr Spiegel vom Desenberg, in Langensalza. Not till 1860 did he settle in Kassel as his fixed place of residence.

Already more than fifty years of age, Strubberg now entered upon that career which was to insure him a significant place in the history of the German novel. What induced him, not schooled in literary expression, to enter upon a literary career so late in life? His own explanation is given in the *Vorwort* to his first work *Amerikanische Jagd und Reiseabenteuer*: "Der Westen Amerikas zieht von Tage zu Tage mehr die Blicke von Europa und besonders von Deutschland auf sich, und Mittheilungen über jene noch so wenig bekannte Länder, namentlich wenn sie aus unmittelbarer Anschauung fliessen und eigene Erlebnisse schildern, dürften darum auf einen grossen Kreis von Lesern rechnen. Dennoch wurden die vorliegenden Blätter nicht dafür niedergeschrieben und waren ursprünglich nur für eine Schwester bestimmt, deren Liebe mich fast ganz allein noch an die alte Heimath fesselte, und deren Gedanken mir unablässig in weite Fernen, unter mancherlei Gefahren und Beschwerden bis zu den äussersten Grenzen der Indianergebiete während eines Zeitraums von sechzehn Jahren folgten. . . . Und so fügte ich mich endlich ihren Wünschen, die Begebenheiten meines Lebens, meine Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer in Amerika zu veröffentlichen." Strubberg, as is evident again and again throughout his works, never hesitated to sacrifice the unadorned truth to his literary purposes. The account of the beginnings of his literary activities as given by W. Bennecke⁵⁸ (a personal friend of the author) is probably more accurate than that in the above *Vorwort*. Strubberg, upon his arrival in Kassel, was eagerly received into the higher circles of the city's social life. His fascinating personality, his many travels and adventures, and his exceptional conversational faculties, made

⁵⁸ Cf. *Hessenland*, Kassel, 2. Mai, 1889.

him a welcome figure among the friends of his youthful days as well as among those of the younger generation. Hotel Schoinhardt at Wilhelmshöhe was a favorite rallying place, and there many a pleasant afternoon and evening spent. Dr. Strubberg, with his remarkable tales of adventure, ever new, varied, and endless, never wanted for an attentive circle of listeners. Oberstallmeister von Eschwege one day asked Strubberg to put his adventures into literary form, so that they could be circulated among his friends as a memorial of the many pleasant hours which had been afforded them. Strubberg tried his hand at writing, but found considerable difficulty in this unaccustomed labor. During his many years in America he had accustomed himself to the English form of sentence structure, and was in consequence frequently hampered in expressing himself. His sister Emilie was of great service to him in this respect, and helped him surmount these early difficulties. In a comparatively short time a stout volume of manuscript was at hand. It found great favor among Strubberg's circle of friends, who persuaded him to seek a publisher for it. Strubbing was fortunate in having his manuscript accepted by what was then perhaps the chief publishing house in Germany, namely, Cotta in Stuttgart, which published the work under the title *Amerikanische Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer aus meinem Leben in den westlichen Indianergebieten* as the work of "Armand." It appeared in 1858 and was well received. "Der Grosse Kapitän," says Bennecke, "vergrub sein Kriegsbeil für immer und griff statt des Tomahawks zur Feder."

Strubberg now centered his entire interest and energy upon his literary work. Possessed with a susceptible mind and glowing imagination, he needed only to revert to his long, active, and somewhat checkered career in America as an inexhaustible source for literary material. In the same year (1858) appeared *Bis in die Wildniss*. In 1859 appeared *An der Indianer Grenze* (4 vols.); *Alte und Neue Heimath*; und *Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexicaner und Nordamerikaner*; surely no mean output for one year. Fortune favored the author. Through the work published by Cotta, the name of Armand became familiar throughout Germany. The name of Cotta also had a favorable effect.

Publishers throughout the country were only too desirous of publishing the works of Armand.

By 1868 Strubberg had published more than forty volumes. At about this time his literary productivity was hindered by two very unfortunate events. In 1860 the author had taken up his residence with his sister Emilie in Kassel. There he was one day visited by an elderly woman who was none other than Antoinette Sattler, the love of his youthful days in Bremen. She had remained unmarried, had cherished his memory through all the long years of his wanderings in America, and hearing of his return, determined to visit him. The old flame was rekindled and the aged couple was finally united in marriage.⁵⁹ One day as Strubberg was returning to his house on Karlstrasse, he noticed a crowd gathered before his dwelling and was told that a woman in the house had become demented. With a strange presentiment he hastened forward and found his own wife. She no longer recognized him and had to be taken to an asylum where she raved herself to death. Only then Strubberg learned that his deceased wife had concealed the fact that a great part of her life had been spent in an asylum from whence she had been released only a short time before their marriage. The author bore his sorrow in silence; in fact he even appears to have endeavored to conceal this marriage in his later years.

The second event, however unfortunate it was for Strubberg, only emphasizes the remarkable character and versatility of the man. We refer to the famous lawsuit which Strubberg, as advocate for the deposed House of Hessen successfully conducted against the Prussian government in the interests of the deposed princes' feoffment in trust.

On January 5, 1831, the Elector Wilhelm II gave a constitution to Hessen, whereupon it ceased to be a dynastic, princely house. Toward the end of 1830, while Hessen was being remodeled into a constitutional state, demand was made that a

⁵⁹ See *Das Trauungsbuch der Oberneustädter Gemeinde*, in Kassel: Am 5. Juni, 1866, wurden in der Privatwohnung des Bräutigams getraut. . . . Friedrich Armand Strubberg, Bürger u. Literat . . . und Jungfrau Antoinette Rosine Henriette Sattler . . . geboren u Bremen . . . am 24. Juli, 1805.

decision be made as to which property should belong to the state and which to the princely family. The entire Hessian dynastic property was then divided into "Staatseigenthum" and "Familien Fideicommiss." The latter was the property of the deposed house alone. "Es ist dessen unbezweifeltes und ausschliessliches Eigenthum und kann niemals unter dem Vorgeben irgend einer andern Eigenschaft von dem Staate oder sonst in Anspruch genommen werden."⁶⁰ June 16, 1866, the Prussian troops under General von Beyer entered Hessen; on June 18 they entered Kassel and not only took complete possession of the state, but also the private property of the princely house, which had been designated as absolutely private property.⁶¹

The members of the Hessian House now filed suit against the Prussian government and appointed Strubberg as their advocate.⁶² His own part in the case and the disappointments which he suffered after having conducted it successfully through many years is best told in his own words: "Meine schriftstellerische Thätigkeit wurde durch eine neue Aufgabe unterbrochen, welche seitens der Agnaten eines depossedirten Hauses an mich gestellt wurde. Ich hatte den Prinzen W. kennen gelernt, der mich flehentlich bat, ihm beizustehen, seine Rechte an dem Fideicommiss-Vermögen des ———schen Hauses gegen den preussischen Fiscus zu verteidigen, da Preussen zugleich mit dem Lande auch dieses Privatvermögen an sich genommen hatte. Ich erklärte dem Prinzen, dass ich ja nicht Jurist sei und mir daher die nötigen Kenntnisse fehlten, um eine solche Aufgabe mit Erfolg durchführen zu können; dennoch beharrte er bei seinem Ansuchen und ich versprach ihm, für ihn zu thun, was in meinen

⁶⁰ Cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst, Prinz von Hessen: *Hat das Fideicommiss-Vermögen der kurfürstlich-hessischen Familie einen Staatsrechtlichen Charakter oder ist es deren Privateigenthum?* Kassel, 1879.

⁶¹ Cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst, Prinz von Hessen: *Das Familien-Fideicommiss des kurfürstlich-hessischen Hauses in seiner rechtlichen Natur seit seiner Entstehung bis auf die Gegenwart.* Kassel, 1878.

⁶² Cf. *Letters in the Appendix.* Strubberg had never been a student of law, though he seems to have given the law some attention when a young man. Law-suits are frequently introduced into his various novels, where they are carried on to great effect, showing a close knowledge of American law and a cleverness in employing the same.

Kräften stehe. Ich begann die Angelegenheit und die dahin einschlagenden Rechte und Gesetze zu studiren, und lieferte dem Anwalte des Prinzen die Entwürfe zu den Eingaben bei den Behörden und den Gerichten. Da starb der depossedirte Fürst und Preussen legte dem Abgeordnetenhause einen Gesetzentwurf zur Genehmigung vor, wonach mit dem Tode des Fürsten das Familien-Fideicommiss-Vermögen des ———schen Hauses in das preussische Staatseigenthum übergegangen sei. Man schrieb mir von Berlin, dass die Gesetzworlage, wenn ich nicht etwas Besonderes dagegen thue, ohne Zweifel durchgehen und dann alle Rechte der Agnaten an dem Vermögen durch das Gesetz beseitigt werden würden. Ich liess schnell einen Protest gegen die Vorlage drucken und im Abgeordnetenhause verteilen, und dasselbe erklärte darauf, dass das Haus keine Behörde sei, welche solche Rechtsfragen zu entscheiden habe; das sei Aufgabe der ordentlichen Gerichte. Ueber diesen Protest wurde ich wegen Beleidigung des Fiscus in zwei Instanzen vor Gericht gestellt, doch beide Mal kostenlos freigesprochen. Die Rechte der Agnaten standen wieder hoch; mit rastloser Thätigkeit schlug ich alle erneuerten Angriffe des Fiscus darauf ab; ich vernichtete alle die unzähligen Angriffe in der Presse dagegen, lieferte die Entwürfe zu sämtlichen Processschriften und hatte die Revisionschrift an das Reichsgericht bereit, als die Regierung Vergleichsunterhandlungen einleitete, welche bald zu einem entgültigen Vergleichsabschlusse zwischen ihr und den Agnaten führten und wodurch einem jeden derselben 25,000 Thaler Jahresrente und ein Schloss zugestanden wurde. Dem Prinzen W. war die Rente auf sieben Jahre im voraus ausgezahlt worden und er hatte das Schloss R. im Werte von 300,000 Thalern in Besitz genommen. Von allem diesem würde er ohne meine rastlose Thätigkeit für ihn niemals von Rechtswegen einen Pfennig erhalten haben; allein als ich ihn um Erfüllung des Entschädigungsvertrages zwischen ihm und mir suchte, weigerte er sich, mir für meine Thätigkeit für ihn etwas zu vergüten, und berief sich, als ich gegen ihn klagte, darauf, dass ich sein Advocat gewesen sei und als solcher kein Recht gehabt habe, noch einen Extravertrag über eine Vergütung für meine Arbeiten mit ihm

zu machen, und dass mir nichts weiter als die Advocatengebühren zukämen.

“Ich hatte zwölf Jahre Tag und Nacht für ihn gearbeitet, hatte meine schriftstellerische Thätigkeit dabei aufgeben müssen, welche mir etwa 3000 Thaler jährlich einbrachte, und hatte nur während der letzten vier Jahre monatlich 100 Thaler von ihm bezogen, weil ich etwa 3000 Thaler erspartes Geld auch ausgegeben hatte und nicht mehr aus eigenen Mitteln existiren konnte. Ich musste den Prinzen verklagen und er wurde vom Gericht verurteilt, den Vertrag mit mir zu erfüllen. Diese Behandlung war eine der unerhörtesten Erfahrungen meines 75-jährigen Lebens, zumal dass ich dem Prinzen nicht allein zu seinem Vermögen verholfen, sondern ihm auch in andern wichtigen Lebensfragen mit gleicher Treue und Anhänglichkeit beigestanden hatte. Ich hatte ihn von einer ihm unfehlbaren Untergang drohenden Krankheit befreit, gegen welche er in Deutschland und im Ausland vergebens Hülfe gesucht, hatte seinen Scheidungsprocess gegen seine erste Gemahlin geführt, hatte in seinem und seines spätern Schwiegervaters Auftrag eine Klage wegen vermuteter Vergiftung seiner Mutter bei der Staatsanwaltschaft eingeleitet, war im Interesse seiner Söhne aus erster Ehe tätig gewesen, hatte fortwährend seine Dienerschaft ergänzt, kurz, ich hatte alle seine häuslichen und geschäftlichen Angelegenheiten besorgt und war in seinem Interesse fast immer unterwegs gewesen, und nun hatte er mich in meinen alten Tagen zum Bettler machen wollen! Die Entrüstung über die mir angethane schmählische Behandlung für alle meine treuen Dienste und Aufopferungen während so vieler Jahre warf mich auf das Krankenlager, von dem ich mich in meinen hohen Jahren nur langsam erholen konnte und wobei ich meine sonst so unverwüsthliche Arbeitskraft fast eingebüsst habe, und so werde ich den noch sehr grossen Schatz meiner Lebenserinnerungen wohl unbenutzt mit mir ins Jenseits hinübernehmen müssen.”⁸⁸

The vexations and disappointment, added to the activities of these twelve years, had sapped the vitality of the old man.

⁸⁸ See *Kölnische Zeitung*, 18. August, 1889.

A certain feeling of having sustained injuries at the hands of humanity, a trait which can be noticed throughout all his works, became only the more pronounced in his later years. He even entertained a sense of distrust toward those who were near and dear to him. But especially was this distrust manifested toward his publishers. So much did he fear the unlawful publication of his works, that, while a work of his was being set up, he would each evening enter the office and seal the compositor's forms. This accounts for the strange explanatory note at the end of some of his works,⁶⁴ to the effect that certain inversions of type that will be noticed throughout the work are due to no error on the part of the compositors. Strubberg resorted to this as a means of detecting all illegitimate reprints of such works.

After the death of his sister Emilie, which probably occurred in 1876, Strubberg appears to have engaged a housekeeper and remained in Kassel for some time. In 1885 the novelist, probably for pecuniary reasons, moved his household to Gelnhausen on the Kinzig. Here in this quiet little Hessian town, once the proud seat of Friedrich Barbarossa, Strubberg spent the few remaining years of his life in peace and quiet.

The literary products of these few years are only the pitiful endeavors of senility, and reflect no credit whatever upon the author. Remembering the successes of his earlier years, he even ventured on expressing himself in dramatic form. Unmindful that his earlier successes were due alone to the fact that his works reflected the actual experiences of an interesting life, he now chose material quite out of his sphere. *Der Freigeist*, *Die Quadrone*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, and *Friedrich Barbarossa* are only fearful proof of the author's total lack of dramatic schooling. The absolute failure of these plays is in the highest degree pathetic.

Strubberg also seems to have had plans for publishing an abridged edition of his works. The infirmities of old age probably hindered him in this task, for no such edition was published.

There are those in Gelnhausen today who vividly recall the

⁶⁴ Cf. *Friedrichsburg* and *Aus Armand's Frontierleben*.

distinguished and mysterious Dr. Strubberg. They remember him as a wonderful narrator,—one who drew yarns from some inexhaustible source. He was a tall man, of gigantic frame, and proud bearing. A well-kept wig and long moustaches carefully curled by his housekeeper, gave evidence of his personal scrupulousness. Reclining on a panther's skin, draped over a huge divan, once the property of Jerome Bonaparte, the aged author, passionately smoking one cigarette after another, was never reluctant to entertain the willing listeners who gathered about him. The gray-coated eye and an arm which was shrivelled up from having been wounded by a poisonous Indian arrow only added conviction to his wild tales of life among the Indians on the unexplored frontiers of America. The ladies remember him as a tall chivalrous gentleman who had a most fascinating manner of paying court to their gentle sex. The men remember him as a tall man of gigantic strength, who even in these latter days drew an Indian bow with a vigor which defied their own strength. To the children of Gelnhausen the author of *Karl Scharnhorst. Abenteuer eines deutschen Knaben in Amerika* was Uncle Strubberg. One of these children, now the poet Carl Heinz Hill, many years later wrote of these days: "In meiner Erinnerung sehe ich ihn, als wäre es gestern gewesen, vor seinem roten Mahogoni-Schreibtisch sitzen, auf dem unter Glasgehäusen drei Elfenbeinfiguren standen. An den Wänden hingen dicht verschleierte Bilder, Felle erbeuteter Tiere und Waffen in Menge. Er selbst war ein grosser Kinderfreund und oft bin ich hinübergelaufen zum Onkel Strubberg. Sein Karl Scharnhorst, den er mir damals schenkte, galt mir ein Heiligtum. . . ."⁶⁶

Strubberg's long and interesting life was drawing to a close. Eccentric in many respects, he had purchased a tombstone some time before his death, had his epitaph, with the exception of the date of his decease, engraved upon it, and had it placed in the basement of his dwelling. His last days were made wretched by an acute abdominal disease. He died on April 3, 1889, and was buried in the old graveyard in Gelnhausen. A small head-

⁶⁶ See *Die Heimstatt*, 1. März, 1907.

stone, shaded by several evergreens and in an iron enclosure over which riot the vines of the American clematis, which he desired to have upon his grave, mark the final resting-place of the wanderer. On the tombstone we read :

Hier ruht in Gott
Friedrich Armand Strubberg
Schriftsteller Armand,
geboren zu Cassel am 18. März 1806
gestorben zu Gelnhausen am 3. April 1889.

Am Totensonntag war's, da trieb mich's zu dem Ort,
Wo man lebend'ger Seelen tote Hülle barg;
Es war so feierlich, so friedlich dort,
Leicht strich der Herbstwind nur von Sarg zu Sarg.
Da trat ich auch zu deiner Ruhstatt hin,
Ein kleines Eisengitter schliesst sie ein;
Durch die Cypressen fiel ein Sonnenstrahl
Auf's Epheu und den schwarzen Marmorstein.
Da kam mir's plötzlich wieder in den Sinn,
Wie ich als kleiner Bursch, auf deinem Schooss gesessen,
Und manch Erinnerungsbild ward in mir wach,
Das längst verschwommen mir in nüchternem Vergessen
Und froh gedacht ich jener Jugendstunden,
Da du mir einst erzählt aus deinem reichen Leben
Von Löwenjagden, Kampf und Kriegswunden,
Von Städten denen du Gesetz gegeben. —

“Unüberwindlich” warst du einst genannt,
Siegreich gingst du hervor aus Kampf und Not,
Bis schliesslich dich der eine überwand,
Dem noch kein Sterblicher bestand,—der Tod. —

Da fällt mein Blick auf seines Grabstein's Schrift,
Und was mich heut' zu diesem Orte führte,
Das ward im Augenblick mir sonnenklar;
Ja man vergass den Dank, der ihm gebührte
Am Tag', an dem sein hundertster Geburtstag war,
Mit keinem Worte hatt' man sein gedacht
Und doch war seine ganze Lebenszeit
Der Arbeit um das Menschenwohl geweiht. —
Es lacht der Teufel, wenn der Undank lacht.



STRUBBERG'S GRAVE IN GELNHAUSEN

Nun komm' ich heute früh genug zu spät,
Um die Erinnerung an ihn wachzurufen,
Sein Leben war zu gross, als dass in nichts verweht
Was Geist und Arbeitskraft einst in ihm schufen.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ See Carl Heinz Hill in *Die Heimstatt*, Mar. 1, 1907.

CHAPTER III.

STRUBBERG'S WORKS.

Strubberg's predecessor Sealsfield has left an enduring legacy to realism. Strange as it may seem, his works were nevertheless ineffective in eradicating that romantic attitude toward America which existed among the German people at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The influence of his works was potent among the student and literary classes rather than among the great mass of the German reading public. This is due partly to the sketchy, disconnected manner which he only too frequently employs in the treatment of his material, partly also to the strange "Kauderwelsch" and peculiar sentence structure which the author consciously affected in order to convey in German the peculiarities of English speech in America, and also to the introduction of a great mass of Spanish, French, and English words and phrases, all of which features helped to make his works quite impossible for the average reader. Nor were Sealsfield's works published in Germany with the hope that the masses might become better informed of conditions in North America. In the most popular of Sealsfield's works, *Das Cajütenbuch* (1841), we even read this rather startling footnote: ". . . bloss Gebildeten sind diese Bücher verständlich, den Ungebildeten oder Halbgebildeten werden sie schwerlich befriedigen, . . ." In the "Vorwort" to Sealsfield's *Der Virey und die Aristokraten oder Mexiko im Jahre 1812*, the publisher writes: "Obwohl übrigens dieses Buch für alle Klassen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft geschrieben ist, so glauben wir doch, um Niemandes Erwartungen zu täuschen, beifügen zu müssen, dass nur der höher Gebildete, oder der mit dem weltgeschichtli-

chen Gange dieses merkwürdigen Reiches bekannt werden Wolende, wahren und hohen Genuss schöpfen wird."

Sealsfield in his works everywhere betrays the student and reader, a trait which is easily explained when we remember that he spent five years (1808-1813) as a student in the "Kreuzherrenstift" in Prague, and ten more years in the same institution as a monk. He appears to have had an uncommon acquaintance with English literature, and his fondness for allusion to English authors in the course of his works cannot always have been pleasant to his German readers, nor is his display of learning always in good taste.¹ His love of erudite comparisons often leads to rather strange effects.²

Returning now to an examination of the works of Friedrich August Strubberg, we find in them to a great degree just the opposite characteristics. Strubberg's works are essentially for the general mass of readers. His language is smooth, and remarkable for its lucid sentences and lack of Germanized Latin words. This is all the more remarkable when we remember the author's long residence abroad. Strubberg seldom attempts to characterize by means of peculiarities of language. His Indians express themselves usually in a highly poetic German. This may be a point subject to criticism, and will therefore be referred to in the consideration of his individual works. Foreign words are seldom introduced and footnotes in explanation of textual peculiarities rarely appear.

¹ In *George Howard's, Esq., und Ralph Doughby's, Esq., Brautfahrt* (1834), Sealsfield characterizes American women, but incidentally criticizes Cooper. In the same work he mentions Ben Jonson, Scott, Bulwer, the witches of Macbeth, and an Elegy by the American poet Paulding; also he quotes from J. S. Knowles *The Beggar of Bethnal Green*. In the *Cajutenbuch* he speaks of Irving's *Sleepy Hollow* and criticizes Bulwer.

² In *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator* (1837) we read p. 440: "Unter ihnen ragt der alte Nathan wie eine tausendjährige Lebensleiche, oder ein gothischer Dom."

Of a Kentuckian (*George Howard's, Esq., etc.*, p. 250, in Ed. of 1804), he writes: "Seine Gesichtsfarbe ist ganz das Colorit von Benjamin West's Tode auf dem Pferde."

In *Pflanzerleben und die Farbigen*, he sees a group of negro women with their pickaninnies and thinks the scene a worthy subject for the Dutch painters Wouvermann and Van der Velde.

Here it must be observed that Strubberg had by no means enjoyed a literary training. His literary career is in many respects a unique one. Although he enjoyed excellent educational facilities under the parental roof, they must nevertheless have been only of a general nature. He never attended a German university, for he had been destined for a business career and to that end entered a mercantile house in Bremen at the age of sixteen.

In 1827, while Sealsfield was working day and night in his room at 236 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, as correspondent for Cotta's German Journal, or engaged on his first novel *Tokeah or the White Rose, an Indian Tale* (Phila., 1828), young Fritz Strubberg had taken up residence in New York as a business man. During these years of his first stay in America nothing could have been farther removed from his mind than the intention of putting his American experiences into literary form. If the impressions which America made on his really susceptible temperament sought a medium of expression it was rather that of the pencil or brush.³

While Sealsfield was giving all his time to literary pursuits in the little Swiss town of Tägerweilen (1832-1837) and steadily acquiring fame, Strubberg was again in Germany aiding his father in the tobacco business. At the close of the thirties, at a time when Sealsfield already rivalled Scott in letters, Strubberg returned to America to try his fortune anew. Long after Sealsfield had brought his literary career to a close (and let it be observed that Sealsfield was Strubberg's senior by only thirteen years) Strubberg was still living the life of a frontiersman. Far removed from the book markets of the East he could not even have been informed of Germany's literary activities, had his interests lain that way. Though he had lived in Germany during the upris-

³ We recall here S.'s sketch of Niagara Falls (see My Biographical Sketch of S.). S.'s first work *Amer. Jagd u. Reiseabenteuer* was illustrated by sketches from his own pen.

ings of the thirties, and though he often expresses "Young German" ideas in his works, we have no reason to suppose that Strubberg was personally deeply interested in those political differences which led the "Zweiunddreissiger" to emigrate to America. When the "Achtundvierziger" came, Strubberg had already lived on the frontier many years. His reasons for coming to America were purely personal ones.

Strubberg occupies a unique position in the history of German letters. He was led to a literary career by the merest accident, but for the intervention of which he might have ended his days as a planter in Arkansas. Far from being a literary man, not even widely read in his own literature, much less in a foreign, we see him publishing his first work in his fifty-second year. Influenced by no literary tendency, a member of no literary school, he wrote, so to speak, "frei von der Leber." A normal man, physically strong, and mentally alert, he possessed a good store of that knowledge and wisdom which is acquired by one who has been about the world and thrown on his own resources. He sought to express that which he had seen, experienced, and heard, in a simple, straightforward manner. There are but few literary allusions⁴ and little conformity to the prescribed forms of art. Having lived a life which again proves that truth is stranger than fiction, it is but natural that on having the pen pressed in his hand he should draw on his own varied experiences.

An endeavor to appeal to the popular reader can be noticed in all of Strubberg's novels. The rich mass of ethnographic material with which Strubberg was so intimately acquainted by virtue of his life among the Indians, negroes, and frontiersmen, though it must always be considered the most important element in his works, was in itself not sufficient to warrant interest. Strubberg therefore made this material readable by adding a

⁴In the course of his works Irving is mentioned, a knowledge of Cooper is intimated; also the Irish poet Moore is several times referred to, as is also Robinson Crusoe.

thread of romance. It must be acknowledged that Strubberg never quite learned how to create anything like a finely motivated plot. His novels are often extremely bizarre and do not conform to the stricter canons of novelistic art. The means which he employed for holding the attention of the reader through four or five volumes is best illustrated by the following anecdote, related by W. Bennecke: "Bei meiner Bekanntschaft mit Armand war es natürlich, dass ich ihm, den alten, gewiegten Romancier, meine ersten novellistischen Versuche zur Durchsicht gab, aber er war von der einfachen Erzählung in denselben wenig erbaut." "Mehr Pfeffer!" war seine ständige Ermahnung, "das ist Alles recht schön und gut, aber—mehr Pfeffer!"⁸

Strubberg spared no "Pfeffer" in his endeavors to make his story interesting. He loves to deal in strong contrasts and not infrequently passes over into the sensational. Also, for the reader of today there is an excess of sentimentality. Strubberg had in reality but one theme: His own life on the extreme frontier of Texas, but he knew how to play numberless variations upon that theme. No matter in what part of America or in what period he opens a novel he is almost certain to have recurrence later to the rolling prairies of the State which he knew so well. It is not surprising then to find his works to a large degree autobiographic. Strubberg himself appears in the third person in a great number of his works, and is always an interesting and attractive character. Between the ages of 52 and 72 (1858-1878) Strubberg published 57 volumes of novels, all of which appeared under his second baptismal name, that of Armand. A detailed account of the contents of these somewhat loosely knit works, would take us far beyond the bounds of this monograph. Only a brief treatment of Strubberg's works follows here in the order of their appearance:

⁸ See *Aus Armand's Leben. Hessenland*. No. 10. Kassel, 16. Mai, 1889.

NOVELS.

- ✓ 1858.—*Amerikanische Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer aus meinem Leben in den westlichen Indianergebieten.* Mit 24 vom Verfasser nach der Natur entworfenen Skizzen. Von Armand. Cotta, Stuttgart. 1 Bd.

In this first work Strubberg at once transports the reader to his settlement on the Leona, a tributary of the Rio Grande. Here on the extreme western frontier of Texas, on territory of the Comanche Indians, at the foothills of the Cordilleras, Strubberg, in company with three other German colonists, had erected his dwelling place, one side facing the river, the other three enclosed by palisades fourteen feet in height. To the North was a dense, primitive forest; to the South stretched the rolling prairie; to the West lay unexplored Indian lands; to the East, the nearest settlement was eighty hours distant on horseback.

The author describes in great minuteness several years of his life here on the frontier of Texas, beyond which no other colonist had at that time ventured. Strubberg's chief pursuit was the hunt, which frequently took him for weeks from the settlement. Mounted on his white stallion Czar, sired by one of the six white Berber horses presented to President Taylor by the Sultan of Morocco, and his faithful bloodhound Trust, two faithful companions which become familiar figures in others of his works, Strubberg exploited the surrounding country far and near. It is the description of these journeys that forms the chief substance for this work. His struggles with the Indians are most vividly narrated. Comanches, Weicos, Catos, Lepans, the peaceful Delawares, who had been given government lands along the Kansas, Mescaleros, Blackfoots, Kitscheis, Apaches, Kikapus, and Pahnees cross our path at various times. Strubberg appears to have the closest acquaintance with the Comanches, though by description of manners and customs, and the delineation of features or dress, he makes careful efforts to distinguish between the various other tribes. The Indian of the West has perhaps nowhere in German literature been treated in a more strikingly objective manner. His Indians, with possibly a few exceptions,

are not the academic type, made so popular through the works of Cooper. Strubberg knew much less of the history of the American Indian than did Cooper, but he had a more direct acquaintance and did not hesitate to draw him as he was. The North American Indians were, as he himself said, pronounced "Lumpe."

Strubberg had already been an eager huntsman in his earlier days in Hessen. His ardor for the hunt with all that pertains to it explains the minuteness with which he relates his experiences. Overlooking a certain tedium which results from a detailed narration of adventures somewhat similar in nature, the book is quite unexcelled in its faithful pictures of animal and plant life in Texas before the approach of the white man. Though we may rest assured that the author has invented many of the incidents employed, and that his marksmanship was somewhat less phenomenal, the fact nevertheless remains that the work could only have been written by one who had had direct acquaintance with that of which he wrote. Strubberg's eye was always open to nature. Nothing is overlooked. The buffalo moving over the prairie in herds of thousands, the various species of bears, deer, antelope, panther, jaguar, Mexican pig, wolf, beaver, and condor, are all carefully described. With the knowledge of one who has lived for years beyond the boundaries of civilization, he further describes the preparation of the various animals for food, and the process of tanning their hides for raiment. The rich plant life of Texas equally engages his attention. With the scrupulousness of a botanist and the eye of an artist he acquaints us with the magnolia, pecan, yucca, cactus, aloe, mosquito tree, laurel, live oak, and numberless other trees, shrubs and herbs. Strubberg is peculiarly happy in bringing local atmosphere into his landscapes. The following is a fair illustration of his poetic yet realistic method (p. 2 f.): "Nach einem sehr heissen Frühlingstage hatte ich eines Abends diese Quellen aufgesucht, da es mir zu spät geworden, um nach Hause zu reiten; die Nacht war prächtig, die Magnolien und grossblühenden Cactusse senkten ihren Vanilleduft herunter zu mir bis in das hohe, kühle Gras, ein Feuermeer von Milliarden von Leuchtkäfern sprühte von Secunde zu Secunde seine Blitze über die endlosen Grasflächen umher, ein

galanter Spottvogel (die amerikanische Nachtigall) flötete seine süßen Melodien aus der Spitze einer dunkeln Magnolie über mir in die todtstille Nacht hinaus. Die ganze Natur schien sich der Schönheit dieser Nacht zu freuen und Tausende von Insekten aller Art taumelten in ihren Orgientänzen vor mir in mein kleines Lagerfeuer. Es war eine Nacht, wie sie Elfen zu ihren Spielen sich erwählen, und lange habe ich unverwandt nach der unergründlichen blauen Tiefe vor mir geblickt. Die Quellen rollten wohl unaufhörlich ihre frischen Krystallwellen der Oberfläche zu, aber die Loreleys wollten nicht kommen, sie haben sich nach Amerika noch nicht verirrt. . . . Der Morgen war so herrlich wie die Nacht. Im Osten begrenzte die flache Prairie den Horizont gleich einem Meer; der dunkle Himmel prangte noch im vollsten Schmuck mit allen seinen Juwelen, während schon der Saum seines Gewandes in brennendes Karmin getaucht war; es floh die Nacht schnell den Bergen zu und ihr nach zog der Tag in seinem schönsten Festkleide. Die Sonne stieg gross über die Prairie auf und beleuchtete ein Feld, worauf eine Saat von Brillanten aufgegangen war, und der schwere Thau beugte die Häupter der zarten Pflanzen, als hielten sie ihr Morgendankgebet für die Erquickung, welche ihnen zu Theil geworden. Auch ich war völlig von dem Thau durchnässt und musste meinen hirschledernen Anzug zum Trocknen an das Feuer hängen; das Leder war nämlich über Holzrauch durchgeräuchert, was das Hartwerden beim Trocknen verhütet."

/ It is safe to assert that in no other work in German literature, and perhaps in no other literature, has the prairie of Western America been portrayed in all its various moods with more skill than in this work. Strubberg excels especially in describing nature's grander and more sombre phenomena: the dark hurricane whirling across the rolling plains, the crash of thunder, the flash of lightning, and the devastating hail; or the all-devouring prairie fire, with the mad stampede of cattle, mustangs, and wild animals of the prairie fleeing before its scorching flames. The following description of a prairie fire is a characteristic example of Strubberg's simple but vivid prose style (p. 147 f.):

“Die Prairien standen in Flammen. Zwar sah ich noch nicht das Feuer selbst, aber die schwarzen Rauchwolken drängten sich schon dicht übereinander fortrollend am Horizont herauf und der Sturm trug sie bald vor mir über die letzte blaue Stelle des Himmels. Nur eine Rettung noch war möglich; es galt eine Höhe zu erreichen, wo das Gras niedriger war, und ohne mich zu besinnen, gab ich Czar die Sporen und Zügel und flog mit dem Sturmwind um die Wette über den Graswald vor mir.

“Ich sah mich um; auf der ganzen weiten Fläche hinter mir lag es düster und dunkel, wie einbrechende Nacht, und unter den schwarz aufsteigenden Rauchwolken reckten die dunkelrothen, nach unten hellglühenden Flammen ihre langen Zungen daran herauf und warfen ihr furchtbares Licht auf die Umrisse der wolkigen Rauchsäulen. Die ganze Ebene schien lebendig zu werden; so weit das Auge reichte, war sie übersät mit fliehenden Herden der Bewohner dieser Wildniss, deren schwarze Gestalten mit einem Feuerschein umgeben waren und sich über die in der Gluth zitternde Fläche fortdrängten. Es war wie das Bild des jüngsten Gerichts, das mir meine Phantasie oft gemalt hatte. . . .

“Nicht mehr weit hatte ich zu der Höhe vor mir; noch einmal die Sporen und mein gellender Jagdruf, und ich flog die Höhe hinauf und hobblete mein zitterndes, schnaubendes Pferd auf der kahlen, mit Kies und ganz dünn mit Gras bedeckten kleinen Fläche. Mit dem Feuerzeug in der Hand rannte ich zurück nach dem hohen Gras, zündete es an, und im Augenblick schlugen die Flammen, wild gegen den Sturm ankämpfend, in die Höhe und schwangen sich, die schwarzen dicken Rauchwolken gegen den finstern Himmel rollend, um meinen Hügel herum, bis sie sich an seiner östlichen Seite vereinten und unter lautem Knistern und Krachen sich wie eine Lawine mit dem heulenden Sturme fortwälzten. Jetzt erst blickte ich zurück, mein braves, von der Hobble wieder befreites Pferd am Zügel haltend, hinunter auf die fürchterlich belebte Fläche, und sah, wie die dunkeln lebenden Gestalten, sich rechts und links in dem Thal unter dem Hügel fortdrängten. Die ganze Thierwelt schien hier vereint und die letzten Kräfte anzuspannen, um dem Flammentode zu

entrinnen. Zu beiden Seiten unter mir donnerte im wirren Gewühl Heerde hinter Heerde vorüber, Büffel, Pferde, Hirsche und Antilopen drängten sich bunt durcheinander, und zwischen ihnen stürzten Bären, Tiger, Panther und Wölfe, einer nach dem andern, unbekümmert vorwärts, das Gesicht von der Gluth abgewandt, die der Sturm mit einem dichten schwarzen Aschenregen über das Land blies. Dunkle, schwarze Nacht hüllte mich jetzt ein, nur ein matter röthlicher Schein schimmerte von den Flammen her durch das dichte Aschengestöber, während der Orkan seine höchste Wuth entfaltete und sein Gewimmer mit dem dumpfen, die Erde erschütternden Donner der fliehenden Thiermassen unter mir verschmolz."

The life of Strubberg's three fellow-colonists, their various domestic activities, the cultivation of the soil, and the defense of the palisaded settlement against the attack of Indians, are all carefully depicted. The arrival of an occasional bee-hunter, trapper, or prospective squatter, was an occurrence of great significance in the history of this solitary settlement. Strubberg's own adventures, however, afford the greater part of the material.

Much of the second half of the work describes a journey to the Rocky Mountains which Strubberg made in company with Königstein, one of the three German colonists, and several other young men who had lately settled on the frontier. On this journey, which continued for several months, they visited the Red River, the Sacramento Mountains, the Canadian River, the Arkansas, the Hot Springs, the Rio Grande, Rio Colorado, and North Platte. In the vicinity of the Black Hills the party met the exploring expedition of a certain Lord S. The author gives the reader a picture of the motley components of such early expeditions to the West before the great transcontinental migrations to the gold fields of California began.

In a manner most interesting to the American of today the author also shows the gradual appearance of other frontiersmen in the domain where he had been sovereign for a number of years. Encroaching civilization was disturbing the happy, idyllic life which he had so long enjoyed here in the solitude of nature. "Mein Leben," he writes (p. 229), "nahm überhaupt von jetzt

an eine andere Richtung. . . . Somit war das sorglose, glückliche Leben, welches mich hier, fern den Menschen, jahrelang ungestört umgeben hatte, zu Ende, und der Geldgott mit seinen tausenderlei Leiden, Gehässigkeiten und Sorgen fing an seine despotische Herrschaft auch hier zu gründen. . . . Die Ruhe war verschwunden und hatte der rastlosen Thätigkeit der Civilisation Platz gemacht."

Strubberg's novel, if we may give a work which has not even a thread of a story to connect one part with another, such a name is an *Ich-Roman*. In fact the work harks back to Robinson Crusoe and the novel of adventure. In true epic fashion the hero, here the author himself, recounts his adventures. In this work there is no attempt to appeal to the reader by means of a story. There is nothing to relieve the tedium of 460 octavo pages but the author's animating style and his ability to give experiences often somewhat similar in character, fresh interest by minute descriptions of plants, animals and natural beauties.

The book, by virtue of its matter, must appeal more to male readers. The author would have us believe that these adventures were originally written for his sister Emilie, while he was still in America.⁶ It is more probable, however, that Strubberg, as Bennecke relates,⁷ was encouraged to write his adventures at the suggestion of the male friends who gathered and heard his yarns in Hotel Schombardt, on the Wilhelmshöhe. The written sketches made a very favorable impression upon his friends. He was urged to seek a publisher, and found one in Cotta⁸ of Stuttgart.

The work is illustrated with twenty-four sketches by the author himself.⁹ Though showing no remarkable talent, they are further proof of the author's conscientious endeavors to give to

⁶ Cf. "Vorwort" to *Amer. Jagd- u. Reiseabenteuer*.

⁷ Cf. *Aus Armand's Leben. Hessenland*. No. 9. Kassel, 2. Mai, 1889.

⁸ The Cotta Pub. House had identified itself with the publication of "Young German" literature, and especially with works relating to America. Cotta had also published Sealsfield's first work.

⁹ Strubberg in the "Vorwort" writes that most of these sketches were made upon the spot. That he engaged in sketching while living on the frontier is further shown in a passage on page 6 of the above work.

the reader a faithful picture of Texan landscape, and of plant and animal life as he beheld it.

✓ The value of the work for us of today lies in just this faithful portrayal of animal and plant life, and in the wealth of ethnographic material it contains concerning the aborigines at a time in American history when the culture of the white man had not yet overtaken them.

The second edition of the work appeared in 1876; the third in 1892; the fourth in 1901.

1858.—*Bis in die Wildniss.* Von Armand. E. Tremendt.
Breslau. 4 Bde.

This is Strubberg's first pretentious literary venture. Its lack of form as a novel may be due to the fact that the author's interest lay more in the tracing out of his own life than in the romance itself. This work is one of the richest for autobiographical material. How much of it is "Truth" and how much "Fiction," it would be difficult to determine with definiteness. Strubberg had evidently early conceived the plan of embodying the various periods of his life in America in literary form. It is to be noted, too, that it is in his first works in which he himself plays the most prominent part.

The time of action of this work antedates that of his first work *Amer. Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer*. It covers the period between the author's departure from Europe and the beginning of his life on the banks of the Leona. The novel opens in Rotterdam. Armand sails for America on the sailing vessel "Medina." The visit described is his second to America, made in the latter years of the thirties. His first visit, made about ten years earlier, is also referred to. Madame Brillot, a Creole lady and her seven daughters are fellow-passengers on the "Medina" to New Orleans. Strubberg, like Cooper, shows himself at home at sea and introduces some striking effects. In the first volume Strubberg first manifests his interest in the slavery of the South. Slavery afterwards is given prominent consideration in a number of his works.

Armand, while on the "Medina," falls in love with Eugenie, the eldest of Madame Brillot's daughters. On arriving in New

Orleans he accompanies the Brillots to their summer home on Lake Ponchartrain, where he and Eugenie become betrothed. Marriage with Eugenie is prevented through the intervention of a Methodist clergyman.

We now follow Armand from Lake Ponchartrain to Mobile, and thence by way of Alabama and Georgia to Charleston, S. C. After a short time he goes to Wilmington, N. C., and thence by rail to Richmond whence he takes a steamer to Baltimore, "die Stadt der Monumente." From there he journeys by rail to New York, where he has letters of credit to several business houses. Armand takes up residence in New York as a shipping merchant. We are now made acquainted with the New York of the thirties through the medium of a German. Here is introduced the love episode with Mary Mercer and the fatal duel with her cousin John Mercer, upon which Armand leaves New York as a fugitive from the law. He journeys to Cincinnati as Mr. Frederick, thence to Louisville, becomes a student of medicine in the medical school there, and after two years receives his doctor's diploma. He now prepares himself for his journey to the West in search of a suitable place to settle. Starting from Memphis on his lately purchased white stallion Czar, and accompanied by his bloodhound Trust, he crosses the river into Arkansas, continues by way of Little Rock and Ultima Thule, a border town of Arkansas, across Choctaw Indian lands to Dallas, Texas, and on to the San Saba Mountains.¹⁰ After following the Rio Grande for some time he comes to its tributary, the Leona, on which he chooses a suitable stretch of land for settlement. He returns by way of San Antonio, Austin and Nagadoches to Louisiana. At Natchez he takes the steamer to Memphis. On arriving he sets about at once to prepare himself for his proposed stay on the frontier, and to that purpose interests three men, a saddler, a carpenter and an agriculturist, to accompany him. The work closes with the erection of the palisaded fortress on the Leona.

¹⁰ Reference to an atlas will show how accurately Strubberg endeavors to describe his travels.

The above brief outline of *Bis in die Wildniss* is filled out with observations on the most varied phases of American life: City, country, political, social and religious conditions. The ravages of yellow fever in New Orleans, the sufferings and maltreatment of slaves on the Southern plantations, the religious fervor and emotionalism of Methodism, the famous quadroom balls of New Orleans and the sensuous beauty of their participants, society life in New York, horse-racing, a great political convention in Baltimore in the interests of the presidential candidate Clay—these form a part of the extensive panorama of American life here shown.

Strubberg's observations are sometimes exaggerated and betray an endeavor to appeal by sensation. On page 140 of Vol. III, Armand describes the cowcatcher of the American train: "Um das Überrennen von Vieh zu vermeiden, befand sich vor der Lokomotive eine grosse, hölzerne, eisenbeschlagene Schaufel, geräumig genug, um mehrere Stück Rindvieh aufzunehmen und so breit, dass sie zu beiden Seiten die Schienen überragte." On the steamboat from Cincinnati to Louisville he notices a favorite American sport, namely whittling (!) (p. 143, Vol. III): "Dabei unterhielten sich Viele derselben mit einem Gedankenspiel, welches so originell als seltsam erscheint, jedoch seine Reize haben muss, da es in ganz Amerika sehr beliebt ist. Es hat nämlich der sich auf diese Weise Unterhaltende ein Stück weiches Holz in der Hand und schneidet nun mit seinem scharfen Taschenmesser grosse und kleine Spähne von demselben ab, bis es gänzlich verbraucht ist, und er in einem Haufen von Holzschnitzeln sitzt, worauf er sein Messer auf der Schuhsohle wetzt und sich wieder nach einem anderen Stück Holz umsieht. Diese Liebhaberei geht so weit, dass, wenn kein solches zu bekommen ist, man Stühle, Tische und Bänke mit dem Messer angreift, weshalb namentlich in den niedrigsten Wirthshäusern stets für Holz zu diesem Gebrauch gesorgt wird."

For a criticism of the work in its totality we can do no better than cite the remarks of Philipp Hofmeister in his "Vorwort" to the first edition:

"Fern von dem geschäftigen Treiben grosser Städte meine Musestunden stillen literarischen Arbeiten widmend, ist es doppelt anziehend, die Wunder entlegener Länder, die Reize einer grossartigen Natur und das rasche Wogen der Völker im Bilde an sich vorüberziehen zu lassen; und so gestehe ich gern, dass mich diese Blätter in seltener Weise gefesselt haben. Unwillkürlich drängte sich mir das schöne Wort von Goethe auf: "Greift nur hinein in's volle Menschenleben und wo man's packt, da ist's interessant." . . . Der Verfasser giebt, was er hörte, sah und erlebte, giebt es ohne die Zuthat der ausschmückenden Phantasie oder der sinnenden Betrachtung. Er greift hinein in den Schatz seiner reichen Erfahrung und seines treuen Gedächtnisses, Begebenheiten reihen sich an Begebenheiten, Charaktere an Charaktere, das volle Menschenleben, wie es die alte Welt schon lange nicht mehr bietet, und dessen Anschauen nur Wenigen gestattet ist, entrollt sich vor den erstaunten Blicken des Lesers. . . . Das Meer mit seinen Gefahren, seiner erhabenen Grösse, der Urwald in seiner unentweiheten Schönheit und seinen Schrecken, das Thierreich und die Pflanzenwelt, wie sie unter tropischer Sonne sich entwickeln, der Farmer und der Städter, der rothe Wilde und der kühne Frontier, die Freiheit und das Slavenleben, das Laster und der Edelmuth, die Liebe und der Hass; das sind die Elemente, aus denen der Verfasser mit sicherer Hand und offenem Auge seine Schilderungen zusammengewebt. . . . Es steht diese Schrift einzig in ihrer Art da, wird eine bleibende Stelle in der Literatur behaupten und für Deutschland, wie für England und Amerika von höchstem Interesse sein."

This work also appeared in serial form in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, in 1858.

A second edition of *Bis in die Wildniss* appeared in 1863.

1859.—*An der Indianer-Grenze oder Treuer Liebe Lohn*. Von Armand. C. Rümpler. Hannover. 4 Bde.

This third of Strubberg's works is in many respects his most valuable contribution to literature. In no other of his works has the cultural condition of American border life been depicted so graphically; in no other has Strubberg drawn such an array of

individual characters. Sensationalism has been replaced by a genuine realism. At the same time this work includes some of Strubberg's most poetic endeavors. It is a happy combination of the romantic and the realistic. *Amer. Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer* devotes itself to those years when Strubberg still lived in his fort on the Leona, far from the haunts of men. *Bis in die Wildniss* depicts Strubberg's life before he settled on the frontier. The time of *An der Indianer-Grenze* is a few years later, when Strubberg had, so to speak, again been overtaken by civilization. The surrounding territory was gradually becoming settled. The single squatter, the rich planter with slaves and cattle from the Southern States, as well as the criminal and outcast of society, became his neighbors. To give an inclusive account of this motley society, its political, religious and social activities, was the task Strubberg set himself to do. It is safe to assert that the work of no American writer gives a more complete account of the cultural conditions of the period and place under consideration.

At the opening of the work Strubberg, who has assumed the name of Farnwald, already appears on his white stallion. His trusty bloodhound bears the name of Joe in this novel. We read (p. 1):¹¹

"Es war ein schlanker, kräftiger, junger Mann, dessen Äusseres die Stellung in der menschlichen Gesellschaft verriet, welcher er jetzt angehörte. Er war ein Mann von der äussersten Frontiere, von der Grenze der Civilisation Nord-Amerikas, war in Hirschleder gekleidet, trug ein Paar Revolver in dem Gürtel um den Leib, ein langes Jagdmesser an der Seite und eine Doppelbüchse schaukelnd vor sich auf dem Sattel. Der lange schwarze Bart und der schwarze Filz, dessen breiter Rand sein Gesicht überschattete, gaben seiner Erscheinung fast etwas Finsteres; im Widerspruch damit standen jedoch die Liebkosungen, die er seinem Pferde durch Klopfen und Streichen mit der Hand zukommen liess, und die freundlichen Worte, die er einem ungewöhnlich grossen gelben Hunde, der vor ihm hinrannte und von Zeit zu Zeit zu ihm zurückkehrte, zurief.

¹¹ The Weimar Ed., 1894, has been used.

"Der Name dieses Reiters war Farnwald."

Further (p. 21 f.): "Farnwald, ein geborener Deutscher, hatte schon seit vielen Jahren seiner Heimat und seinen Lieben in derselben Lebewohl gesagt um sich in Amerika eine neue seinem thatenlustigen, willenskräftigen Geiste mehr zusagende zu gründen.

"Vom Norden dieser neuen Welt hatte ihn sein Geschick unerwartet von Jahr zu Jahr weiter südwestlich geführt, durch Widerwärtigkeiten, Unglücksfälle und bittere Lebenserfahrungen ihn mehr und mehr mit der civilisierten Welt zerfallen lassen und ihn zuletzt hinaus in diese fast noch unbekannte Wildniss getrieben. . . ."

The lonely fort on the Leona is again referred to. On page 23, Vol. I, Strubberg mentions the visit of the owner and editor of one of the most important newspapers in the United States, who visits Farnwald in order to be able to inform his readers of the advantages in settling in those parts. In consequence, immigrants and land speculators soon begin to arrive. During the third year of Farnwald's sojourn in the fort, the first squatter appeared and erected his hut about an hour distant. Upon the approach of other settlers Farnwald forsook the fort and built himself a more modern residence among his neighbors. A part of the first volume is devoted to Farnwald's love for Owaja, a beautiful Lapan-Indian maid. This delightful little episode, no integral part of the work, has been called the most poetic thing Strubberg has ever written.¹² Owaja is a beautiful child of nature, naive and good. She is one of Strubberg's Rousseauian creations, a descendant of the children of Chateaubriand and Bernardin St. Pierre, only more effective. Strubberg was clever at contrasts. It is his skilful handling of the romantic over against a background often harshly realistic, that makes this novel delightful reading, in spite of its inadequacy of form. With little regard for the sympathy of the reader Owaja is left to die early in the work, and Farnwald's love for Dorolice, the daughter of a wealthy Spanish settler, supplies most of the romance for the

¹² Cf. Hermann Ethé: *Der transatlantisch-exotische Roman und seine Hauptvertreter in Essays und Studien*, p. 92. Berlin, 1872.

remainder of the novel. Around these tender tales of love Strubberg has woven the varicolored threads of frontier life. Life among the Indians, their customs and habits both in their villages and on the hunt, their attacks on the whites, the abducting of white children, life among the planters, both cultured and crass, the conditions of slavery, quarrels over land claims, the execution of the law in a time when the law lay largely in the hand of the individual; all is depicted in a most vivid manner. Nor are the minor occurrences of frontier life omitted: The preparation of food and raiment, the squatter in his fields or on the hunt, thrilling court-room scenes, the gambling table, a Methodist revival meeting, all find place. The reader is spared nothing. The gauging and lynching scenes are realistic and thrilling enough to please the most *blasé* of readers. The negro fight in Chap. 21 of Vol. II is a splendid bit of narrative, and finely illustrates the author's graphic, visualizing style.

In the later half of the second volume scenes from the Mexican War are introduced. Commanding General Taylor is stationed at Corpus Christi, awaiting orders from Washington to begin the attack on the Mexicans. In the army are many volunteers from the Eastern States. Farnwald himself gathers a company, and as its Colonel leads it to the field of action. We witness the beginning of the war on the broad plains of Palo Alto. The Mexican War, however, occupies a very subsidiary place. It serves to bring together Farnwald and Dorolice, his Spanish love. The work closes with an intimation of their union, though Strubberg in good taste never permits himself as a character to enter into matrimony.

Farnwald is the predominating figure throughout the work. Strubberg's fondness for portraying himself in high lights, as a character epically heroic, a paragon of bravery and nobility of mind, a benefactor of humanity in times of peace and a mediator in periods of strife, is not always pleasing to the reader. To be fair, he does not hesitate to ascribe petty weaknesses to his own character, but his virtues are always greatly in preponderance. Throughout the work his successes as a doctor of medicine are brought out with special emphasis.

Perhaps the most evident weakness of this work is the author's inability to harmoniously wield the great mass of material at hand. After the fashion of the ancient epic writer, all must be told whether interesting or otherwise at an expense of the progress of the action. Nevertheless *An der Indianer-Grenze* remains one of Strubberg's most valuable achievements. It appeared in serial form in the *Kölnische Zeitung* in the same year with its publication in book form. A second edition was published in 1894 as "Erste Abteilung" in *Armand's ausgew. Romane*.

✓ 1859.—*Alte und neue Heimath*. Von Armand. Breslau.
Eduard Trewendt. 1 Bd.

As a novel this is one of the most readable of Strubberg's works. As a cultural document it is invaluable for the fine picture it gives us of one of the darkest periods in the history of the State of Texas: the planting of German colonies in Texas by the "Mainzer Adelsverein," through whose misdirected efforts thousands of Germans suffered untold miseries and hundreds died a wretched death. In November, 1844, the first ship with immigrants sent by the "Verein" had arrived; soon thereafter came two others, bringing in all about seven hundred people. Late in 1845 four thousand three hundred and four more arrived.¹³ The immigrants of 1844 could not be conveyed at once to the lands proposed. They were obliged to camp on the coast, and only after some time were transported to the interior, where the town of Neu-Braunfels was founded. Those of 1845 fared even worse. Transportation was made practically impossible through the fact that nearly all vehicles had been called into service by the American Army for the Mexican War. They were obliged to camp on the coast in wretched shelter, with only the poorest food. The winter was a severe one, disease spread, and hundreds died.

Strubberg has taken for his subject the hardships of the first arrival of immigrants, but he has apparently drawn on the incidents connected with the combined arrivals of 1844 and 1845. The action of the novel consequently takes place during the latter

¹³ Cf. *Festausgabe*. Pp. 39 and 48.

months of 1844 and during 1845. The author was at this time in all probability living in the interior of Texas, in the vicinity of the Leona. It was only in 1846 that he was called to Friedrichsburg as Colonial Director. He was consequently not acquainted with his material at first hand. Through his connections with the colony of Friedrichsburg in the following year he learned to know many of the immigrants themselves, and had beyond a doubt abundant opportunity to hear them relate their wanderings from the coast to the interior of Texas.

The author introduces us to the Werner family in their comfortable little home in South Germany. Few people had had occasion to wander from the prosperous little town, but the "Verein zum Schutze deutscher Auswanderer" (Mainzer Adelsverein) had issued such glowing reports of the beauties of Texas and the advantages of emigrating thither that Herr Cassirer Werner and family decided to embark on the emigration ship to sail for America from Havre in October (evidently 1844). The adventures of this family form the framework for this novel. In the second chapter we stand on the coast of Texas with hundreds of other Germans and await an incoming ship. On it is the Werner family. The idealistic anticipation of these naive Germans is most pathetic: "Nun, Kinder, ist alles Schwierige überwunden, bald werden wir auf unserer Plantage sein," sagte Herr Werner, als der Steg das Werft erreicht hatte und Alles darüber hinunter rannte. "Kommt mit mir und lasst uns die amerikanische Erde betreten" (p. 29). The immigrants for want of means of transportation are obliged to remain in Galveston, some in hotels, the poorer in wooden shacks without the city. It was a motley crowd. "Sie stellten," writes Strubberg (p. 21), "eine wahre Musterkarte aus allen möglichen Ständen und Klassen der menschlichen Gesellschaft dar. Hier sah man den unbehilflichen, ungelenken, langhaarigen Bauer nebst Familie mit offenem Maul vor den Schaufenstern der Läden stehen; da den jungen Stutzer mit dem Kneifer vor dem Auge, mit Glaceehandschuhen und hohen bespornten Absätzen nach dem Trinkhause wandern; . . . den Krämer, den Soldaten, den Handwerker, den Schauspieler, den Pächter, den Bürger, den Edelmann, den Grafen; Alle konnte

man hier wandeln sehen und leicht aus ihrer Erscheinung den Stand errathen, dem sie in ihrer deutschen Heimath angehört hatten.

"Mitunter jedoch war der Anzug, namentlich junger Männer, in dieser Beziehung trügerisch, indem dieselben bei der Wahl ihrer Tracht entweder ihrem eigenen, bei ihrer Abreise von Europa an Nichts mehr gebundenen Geschmack gefolgt waren, oder irgend ein Ideal, welches ihre Phantasie begeisterte, zum Muster gewählt und sich darnach kostumirt hatten. Man erblickte purpurfarbene und rothe, mit Schnuren reich besetzte sammetne Paletots, spanische Überwürfe mit aufgeschlitzten weiten Ärmeln, italienische Anzüge nach Rinaldo Rinaldini und Masaniello, Lederanzüge nach Natti aus Cooper's Letztem der Mohikaner, Strumpfmützen, mittelalterliche Reiterhüte mit aufgekrämpften breiten Rändern und mit Federn, spitze graue Filzkappen, wie sie die Narren auf deutschen Maskeraden zu tragen pflegen, und Stiefel-Façons aus allen Jahrhunderten, in denen solche getragen wurden. In einer Hinsicht aber stimmten diese Leute sämmtlich überein; sie waren Alle bis an die Zähne bewaffnet und trugen Pistolen, Jagdmesser, so wie Dolche im Gürtel, was ihnen, im Verein mit ihren abnormen Bärten, ein desperates, martialisches Ansehen gab."

Daily more immigrants arrived. Food and drink was sold at exorbitant prices. By means of a little sailing vessel the Werners are taken from Galveston to Indian Point, where other Germans had also pitched their camp. From here the Werners had hoped to be conveyed to the colony's lands, but the same difficulties prevailed, and they remained here. The extreme heat and want of proper food soon brought on disease, and many fell victims, among them one of Werner's daughters. The immigrants are driven to despair. Many of them, taking with them only the barest necessities, started out to reach Neu-Braunfels on foot, two hundred miles distant; only a few ever reached their destination, the remaining ones fell by the wayside.¹⁴ Werners deter-

¹⁴ Cf. An historical account of these hardships: Franz Loeher's *Gesch. u. Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*. Cincinnati und Leipzig, 1847. P. 351 f. Also Olmsted's *Wanderungen durch Texas, etc.* Lpz. 1857. P. 120 f.

mined to get conveyance at any cost. Their son Albert had been sent to Neu-Braunfels in the hopes of having a vehicle sent from thence. A few native whites hearing of the distress of the Germans, came to camp with their vehicles and extorted exorbitant prices for transportation. The Werners finally submit themselves to a heartless teamster, who extracts an enormous sum from them. Their drive over the sandy waste under a glaring sun, is strikingly pictured. The teamster turns off from the road to Neu-Braunfels, forsakes them there, returns and extorts more money from them. The Werners contract the fever on this protracted journey and only the eldest daughter, Matilda, survives. The teamster and his brother seize all the Werner possessions.

The wanderings of Albert Werner, the son, are now taken up from the time he left Indian Point for Neu-Braunfels. Albert remains in Neu-Braunfels for some time; the author incidentally introduces the life and activities of that German settlement. Albert, on returning to Indian Point finds the graves of his parents. Not knowing of his surviving sister Matilda, he joins General Taylor's forces at Point Isabel.

The Mexican War occupies a prominent place in the latter part of the work. We follow Albert as one of the Texas rangers (a body of ununiformed, undisciplined men, says the author, whose only Commando lay in the words "at them!") to Palo Alto; as under officer he goes on to Resaca de la Palma; the Mexicans are routed; Albert becomes second lieutenant; he camps with the Americans at Matamoras; he becomes first lieutenant; they march to Monterey; Forts Federacion, Teneria and Obispada are taken; Monterey is stormed, and finally capitulates, a truce follows, during which Werner is seriously wounded by a tiger and is cared for in the house of Dona Rosa Marcia Garcia. A beautiful romance develops between Albert and Dona Rosa, which results in a happy union. Mathilda had been received into the home of the planter Harmuth; she finds a German bridegroom and is in the end restored to her brother. The novel ends with a brilliant wedding scene. Strubberg's manner of treating historical matter is well illustrated by his introduction of the Mexican War. Conspicuous figures such as Generals Taylor and

Worth are mentioned, but seldom permitted to take an active part. A Captain Falkland takes part in the dialog and remarks that he is a German. Definite historical references in connection with Strubberg's introduction of the settlement of Neu-Braunfels is more or less avoided.

Mention is made of Graf H., Lieutenant v. C., Graf S., and Graf H. v. d.¹⁵ The "Sophienburg," built by Prinz Solms and named after his lady-love Sophia, Princess of Salm-Salm, is also referred to.¹⁶

This work went through but one edition.

- 1859.—*Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexicaner und Nordamerikaner*. Von Armand. Breslau. Eduard Trewendt. 1 Bd.

This is Strubberg's first attempt at a shorter form of the novel. It is perhaps unfortunate that Strubberg did not resort to a briefer form more frequently, though it must be admitted that material, so varied in nature, was ill adapted for expression in a brief concise form.

This work appeared in the same year with *An der Indianer-Grenze*. It consists of two novelettes: *Die Amerikaner in Mexico* and *Der Sturm von San Antonio*. In the introduction to these two "Scenen" the author has given a historical account of the differences that led to the war between Mexico and the United States.

The first novelette, *Die Amerikaner in Mexico*, occupies 115 pages. It is the first of Strubberg's works to have a Spanish milieu. It is in reality a series of scenes. A slender romance is introduced toward the end of the work, but it is almost obscured by the wealth of military and cultural details introduced. It opens with cannon thundering forth from Forts Santiago, San José, San Fernando and Santa Barbara over the city of Vera Cruz. In the harbor lay the American fleet of war, also sending forth volleys of thunder. Under similar strains the Mexican in-

¹⁵ The first two abbreviations probably refer to Graf Edmond von Hatzfeld and Graf Karl von Castell; the last two the writer has not located. Cf. List of members of the "Mainzer Adelsverein" in *Festausgabe*, p. 41 f.

¹⁶ Cf. *Festausgabe*, pp. 40 and 44.

habitants of Vera Cruz had, in struggling for their independence six months before, lost their liberty, and the Americans had taken possession of the town. Now the fall of the City of Mexico itself is announced. Colonel Harris, Captain Falkland and Lieutenant Moorland, three officers who had marched triumphantly with the American General Scott into Mexico, had brought this message to Vera Cruz at break of day. The joy of the people knew no end. The stars and stripes waved over the black fortress.

The American Army is described thus (p. 8): "Zügellose Banden von Volontairs, die erst kürzlich mit Transportschiffen von den Vereinigten Staaten hierher befördert waren, schwärmten betrunken, mit Revolvern und langen Jagdmessern im Gürtel, durch die Strassen, zogen von einem Trinkhause zum andern und machten in ihrer nachlässigen, zerlumpten Kleidung, ihren zerrissenen, über die Hosen gezogenen Stiefeln und zerfetzten breitrandigen Hüten mehr den Eindruck einer Räuberbande, als den der Armee eines hochcivilisirten Staates wie Nord-Amerika."

At a banquet held by American soldiers a health is drunk to a brave Mexican officer, the First Lieutenant of Marines, Sebastian Holzinger, a German. (Strubberg always appears well in touch with the activity of the Germans then in North America. The author delights to introduce Germans into his works, and usually portrays them in an attractive manner.) Holzinger had during the bombardment of Vera Cruz heroically defended Fort Santa Barbara against the Americans, and when the flag pole was broken by an American ball, had, amid a torrent of bullets, held up the flag. Through his bravery he had won the esteem of the Americans and been given his freedom on condition that he would no longer serve in the Mexican Army.

We are led into the country palace of Santa Anna, the Napoleon of the South, as he is called. A vivid picture of the Spanish guerillas is drawn. Gambling, horsethieving and love-making between American soldiers and Spanish beauties give the scenes a dash of color.

The second novelette, *Der Sturm von San Antonio*, is better proportioned and contains more unity. The author first gives a brief historical sketch of Texas, "das Nordamerikanische Ita-

lien," since the days of Ferdinand Cortez up to 1825, when the great migrations to Texas began. Strubberg writes (p. 121): "Die Bevölkerung von Texas hatte bisher kaum dreitausend Seelen betragen; doch nun strömten von Norden und von Osten her Einwanderer in Menge herein, und das Land war in kurzer Zeit der Freihafen für alle diejenigen, die von dem Gesetze der benachbarten Vereinigten Staaten fliehen mussten. Taugenichtse, Schwindler, Diebe, Räuber und Mörder suchten hier eine sichere Zufluchtsstätte, und Sklaveneigner, die von ihren Gläubigern bedrängt waren, flohen mit Hunderten von Negeren nach diesem Asyl."

The history of Texas is then traced through the uprisings in 1835, and its final declaration of independence from Mexico as a republic in 1836. It is about this time that the action of the novel takes place. Sealsfield, we remember, had operated in about the same period in his *Cajütenbuch*. Unlike that of most of the earlier works the *milieu* of this novelette lies beyond the author's own personal experience. It is perhaps for this reason, too, that we miss his own familiar figure in the work. Strubberg's intimate acquaintance with the territory aids him in striking the proper atmosphere, even if the action takes place several years before his own activities in that region. The crude and vagabondish character of the population in these early days in Texas is happily depicted, and in strong contrast to the beautiful scenic background. In stronger contrast still is the pretty romance between young Gordon and the Spanish maid Beatrice de Almonte. Gordon is an idealist and stands up for the Indian whom he thinks shamefully and unjustly treated. . . . "Denke," he says (p. 265), "an das unsägliche Unglück, welches die Weissen unter diese Menschen geschleudert haben. Sie nahmen ihnen nicht allein ihr Eigenthum, trieben sie von ihrer Heimath weiter und weiter dem öden Gestein der Anden zu, sie jagten sie wie die wilden Thiere, sie erschlugen ganze Stämme; sie brachten ihnen zerstörende Krankheiten, sie gaben ihnen Branntwein und brachen alle Verträge, alle Versprechungen, die sie ihnen gegeben hatten." In the latter half of the work we are taken farther to the West among the Comanche Indians. Chief of the Comanches

is Mopotuska. His two sons are Santa Anna¹⁷ and Sanacho. The love of Sanacho for Ora, the daughter of the hostile Chiricagui tribe is for loftiness both of language and conception, and idyllic beauty one of Strubberg's most charming bits. The following passage is almost Hebraic in character (p. 249): "Die Tochter der Chiricaguies ist tapfer; sie hat bei Tage die brennende Wüste durchwandert, Speise und Trank für den Kranken Sanacho geholt und Nachts für sein Leben gewacht; sie hat die Zähne des Jaguars gebrochen und seine Krallen abgestumpft; sie hat den Sturm bekämpft und den Comanche zu den Schatten der Magnolien geführt; sie hat ihm sein Pferd wiedergegeben und ihm einen Zaum für dasselbe gemacht, sie ist Sanacho's Weib, und die Frauen der Comanches werden ihr Wigwam mit den schönsten Häuten schmücken, ihre Haare mit Bärenöl salben und ihr Lager mit Blumen bestreuen."

Strubberg has very plainly idealized the Indian in this novelette, perhaps to bring the injustice of the whites toward the Indians into stronger contrast. The author is very evidently in sympathy with the red man's cause. The ignoble actions of the whites, their faithlessness in upholding the peace contract with the Indians, the terrible vengeance which the latter reek upon them, to which Gordon and Beatrice fall innocent victims, form the machinery of the work.

Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexicaner und Nordamerikaner was never republished.

1860.—*Ralph Norwood*. Von Armand. Hannover. Carl Rümpler. 5 Vols.

The work is dedicated as follows: "Dem Freiherrn J. W. Spiegel zum Desenberg, Domherrn zu Halberstadt, Hochwürden, Hochwohlgeboren."

From the Preface we learn that Strubberg lived with the above gentleman in the summer of 1859, in order, as he says,

¹⁷This Indian was named after the Mexican General. Strubberg is here dealing with an historical Indian character. Mopotuska appears to be a perversion of Mopechucope (old owl). Cf. *Festausgabe*, p. 98.

"für manche herbe Stunde meines langjährigen ersten Wanderlebens Ersatz zu finden."

Perhaps none of Strubberg's works contains a more varied or greater number of scenes from American culture of the early decades of the nineteenth century than *Ralph Norwood*. Its extreme length, quite unmotivated, and the multitude of crimes and horrors scattered over its pages, prevent it from occupying a very high place as a literary work. The author for once steps out of the bounds of his own personal experience. The story begins a few years after the treaty between the United States and Spain (February, 1821), in which the latter resigned her interests in Florida. In 1817 General Jackson had entered Florida and created havoc among the Seminole and Creek Indians. The scene opens on the northern border of Florida. The chief character is Ralph Norwood, the son of Tom Norwood and a Seminole woman. It is the life and crimes of Ralph Norwood which form the material for Strubberg's novel. The history of the struggles of the Seminoles in Florida and the final removal of the small remaining number by the Government to the Far West serves as the ethnographic background. No attempt is made to characterize the Indian by peculiarities of language. The following speech, delivered by Tallihadjo, the chief of the hunted Seminoles, is an example of the author's usual Indian speech (Vol. I, p. 168): "Du bist der Leopard, der die Antilope gegen die hungrige Schaar seiner Brüder in Schutz nimmt, deine Freundschaft ist seltener, als der weissgeborene Büffel, und die Dankbarkeit der Seminolen wird ewig dauern, wie die Wogen des grossen Wassers, welche die Küste Floridas bespülen. Der Zorn des grossen Geistes liegt schwer auf unserm Volke, und das starke Herz Tallihadjo's hat schon viel um dasselbe gelitten. Er wollte ihm auch sein Land opfern und es den Weissen überlassen, darum zog er mit seinem Stamme davon, ohne dass seine Fährte sagte wohin."

The marauding expeditions of the pirate vessel the "Sturm-vogel" along the Atlantic coast occupy a prominent part in the work. A German sailor is on the pirate vessel. The author never neglects to introduce Germans into his works.

In the second volume Lafayette's final visit to America and the great ovations given him in various American cities are described.

The story now shifts to Florida, then again to Baltimore and along the sea coast; the reader is even given an excursion up the Hudson to Trenton Falls, as well as Niagara.

The terrible atrocities against the Indians, partly brought on through Ralph Norwood, who acts as a government spy, reflect no credit on the whites. The author's sympathies point strongly toward the Indians. At the end of the fourth volume, the last decisive battle of the Seminole war is fought. The few remaining Seminoles are taken by the government to the western part of the State of Arkansas. The fifth volume opens there sixteen years later. The author is again on the territory he knows so well. He promptly introduces himself, his white stallion and his old dog, who here bears the name of Guard. He introduces himself as follows: "Farland, ein Deutscher von Geburt, war der erste Ansiedler in dieser Gegend gewesen, zu jener Zeit als dieselbe sich noch weit und breit in dem Besitz der Indianer befand. Er war Arzt, hatte aber seine wissenschaftlichen medizinischen Kenntnisse seit seinem hiesigen Aufenthalt nie anders benutzt, als um unentgeltlich seinen, sich täglich mit jedem Jahr beträchtlicher mehrenden weissen Nachbarn und auch den ihm befreundeten Indianern beizustehen, wenn sie seiner Hülfe bedurften. Er war ein Mann im kräftigsten Alter, von ungewöhnlicher geistiger und körperlicher Ausdauer, der mit vielen schweren Schicksalen gekämpft, herbe Leiden getragen und sich dennoch Antheil an den Freuden des Lebens und Theilnahme für das Wohl und Wehe seiner Mitmenschen erhalten hatte."

The last volume shows us the Seminoles in their Western home. Though so near the natural conclusion of the novel, a violent affair of the heart between Farland and Berenice, daughter of Ralph Norwood, now comes into the foreground. Berenice dies. The work ends with Tallihadjo's terrible revenge on Ralph Norwood for his traitorous deeds against the Indians, his own mother's kin, while still in Florida. Ralph Norwood and the pirate captain of the "Sturmvogel" are both burned at the stake.

1862.—*Sklaverei in Amerika oder Schwarzes Blut*. Von Armand. Hannover. Carl Rümpler. 3 Bde.

Under this title are included the three following novels: *Die Quadrone*, *Die Mullatin*, and *Die Negerin*. They were written at a time when the agitations of slavery in America had reached their climax in the Civil War.

Strubberg, though we infer from his works that he himself owned slaves, manifests an antipathy to slavery as an institution. He frequently introduces slaves into his works, but usually portrays them in such a way as to arouse the sympathy of the reader. This is the only one of Strubberg's works, however, devoted entirely to the negro. It would be going too far to credit *Sklaverei in Amerika* with direct anti-slavery tendencies. The author aims less at giving a wide cultural panorama of slavery in its minutest details than an interesting literary product. *Sklaverei in Amerika* is in a sense an epic trilogy on the black man. The beauty of the black man's life in his natural surroundings in Africa, his removal to America and entrance into bondage, the loves, sorrows, and tragedies of his descendants in slavery; this is the machinery with which Strubberg operates.

The plots of these three novels are more carefully constructed, better motivated and more finely proportioned, being less hampered by the usual mass of episodes. As a cultural document of the period of slavery in America it has less value; as a purely literary achievement, however, it takes the first place among the author's many works. The work is dedicated to His Majesty, Wilhelm I, King of Prussia.

The first novel, *Die Quadrone*, takes up 106 pages. Strubberg was very partial to the beautiful quadroons of the South and excelled especially in the description of those who had enjoyed exceptional advantages.¹⁸ The heroine is Leonta,¹⁹ the daughter of the southern planter Crawford, and a mulatto woman. The

¹⁸ Cf. Description of quadroon ball in *Bis in die Wildniss*, p. 9 f. 4. Bd.

¹⁹ Note variations on the name of the river Leona. Cf. Leonide, the Indian Maid in *Aus Armand's Frontierleben*; also Neone, Farland's quadroon slave in *Ralph Norwood*.

planter, pressed for money, sells his own beautiful daughter into slavery. Descriptions of a southern slave market, methods of buying and selling human ware, the sale of Leonta and her consequent life form the material for this novel.

A fuller account of this work follows later in the consideration of its dramatized form.

Die Mulattin, the second novel, is somewhat longer, occupying 331 pages.

Rosiana, like Leonta, also has a white father, a clergyman. Her mother is a negress. In this work at least, the author shows himself able to motivate a real conflict. Rosiana, possessed of great physical beauty, and having enjoyed excellent mental and moral training at the hands of her reverend father, is in every respect fitted to move on the same social plane as do the fairer daughters of the old city of Richmond. Though endowed mentally, and physically, with great beauty, Rosiana is an outcast. It is the clash of white against black. The author now cleverly introduces two Germans, Franval²⁰ (who is none other other than Strubberg himself), and Fehrmann, thus providing a situation in which white foreigners, totally unprejudiced against the blacks, can without injuring the Southerner, sit in judgment on the slave question. Lincoln, a prominent young advocate, an anti-abolitionist, remarks (Vol. I, p. 122): "Auch kann man diesen Farbi-gen selbst selten trauen, das Negerblut, das in ihren Adern fiesst, macht sie hinterlistig und blutdürstig, und wir Amerikaner haben nicht ganz ohne Grund ein solches unbeugsames Vorurtheil gegen sie."

"Du republikanischer Slavereimann—Ihr Amerikaner saugt die Verachtung gegen die schwarzen Menschenrassen mit der Muttermilch ein. Komm mit zu meinen drei dunkeln Engeln und

²⁰"Franval war ein Deutscher, der vor wenigen Jahren in New York ein bedeutendes überseeisches Geschäft gegründet hatte und sich augenblicklich hier befand, um zwei Schiffe nach Europa zu beladen." (Vol. I, p. 119.)

Note the various names Strubberg assumes when he himself appears. "Armand" is most frequently employed. In "Farnwald" in *An der Indianer-Grenze*, "Farland" in *Ralph Norwood*, and "Franval" in the above novel, the similarity of the vowels and consonants is very striking. This similarity was no doubt resorted to in order to make the identification of the character with the author himself more easily perceptible.

lass mich sehen, ob Du gleichgültig gegen ihre Reize bleibst und ob Du ihnen gegenüber noch behaupten kannst, dass sie den Thieren näher ständen, als die zerbrechlichen geistlosen weissen Damen," sagte Fehrmann. . . .

"Schön, oder geistreich, mir gilt es gleich, aber mich kann ein Weib nicht reizen, von dem ich weiss, dass ihre Vorfahren Neger waren. Der Gedanke daran macht sie mir schon zuwider," entgegnete Lincoln.

"Du bist ein unverbesserlicher Nordamerikaner und ich wünsche weiter nichts, als dass du dich doch einmal in eine Farbige verlieben möchtest, damit du zu ihren Füßen dein Unrecht bekennen müsstest," . . . sagte Fehrmann."

Between the first and second half of this work four years have elapsed.²¹ Fehrmann had left Richmond and gone to New Orleans, where he was thrown from his horse and died. Franval had been overtaken by misfortune and lost his bride. He had fled from the world and sought solace on the frontier of the West, where he had settled with several other unfortunates. Lincoln had fallen a victim to Rosiana's charms, staked his promising career, forsaken his friends, and fled with Rosiana to the extreme West, where he settled in a little town near the borders of Mexico, several hundred miles south of Franval's settlement. Here Lincoln lived happily with Rosiana and their children.

Strubberg is now again in his own frontier atmosphere. He stops to describe himself—the familiar, weather-beaten rider in leathern garments and his white stallion. Franval and Lincoln are again brought together. Lincoln's happiness is soon to be interrupted. Rosiana's father had neglected to officially declare the freedom of his daughter, and upon his death his heirs claim her as saleable property. Lincoln's home is attacked; he defends himself and family; Rosiana manages to escape, and Lincoln is imprisoned, but escapes by bribery and joins his family. Fran-

²¹ The time of action of the first half of the novel, though not designated by definite textual data, is probably the latter thirties, when S. was shipping agent in New York and elsewhere, if we may accept these lines (Vol. I, p. 251): "Franval hatte sich durch eigne Thätigkeit und Umsicht in New York ein grossartiges überseeisches Geschäft gegründet, auch ihm lachte in einer reizenden süßen Braut das Glück seiner Zukunft entgegen. . . ."

val conducts them to his settlement on the Leona.²² The Lincolns remain with Franval for some time, but discovering they are still on slave territory, they migrate to Boston, where he and his mulatto wife need suffer no social ignominy.

Die Negerin is the longest of the three novels comprised in *Sklaverei in Amerika*. It occupies the last 95 pages of the second volume and the entire third volume of 331 pages.

Though not any of these three novels published under *Sklaverei in Amerika* are related to each other, a more natural order would have been: 1. *Die Negerin*; 2. *Die Mulattin*; 3. *Die Quaddrone*.

In *Die Negerin* the author has opened the scene of action among the negro tribes of Africa, where half of the story is enacted. In no other work is the author's imaginative and inventive ability more clearly shown. He is here operating with material totally foreign to him. This may account to a degree for the preponderance of the romantic spirit. The negro prince Buardo, son of the King of the Annagus, and Semona, a negress of another tribe, are two of Strubberg's most poetic creations. Buardo, while with his warriors on an elephant hunt, meets the slave-dealer Sarfzan, who has for years brought slaves from the eastern to the western part of Africa. His destination is the coastland of the King of Dahomey, whom he has long furnished with wives. Sarfzan, on hearing that Buardo is prince of the Annagus, desires to sell him some of his human wares. Buardo, however, had enjoyed instruction in the Christian Mission in Cape Coast, and Sarfzan's dark beauties have little effect on him, until Semona, the gem of the collection, is brought before him, "wie eine aus Ebenholz geschnittene Venus," writes Strubberg with his marvelous visualizing power (Vol. II, p. 197 f.), "stand sie vor dem erstarrten Blicke Buardo's, der mit einem Laut der Überraschung auffuhr und seine Hände gegen sie ausstreckte."

"Semona war so schwarz, dass alle die übrigen Slavinnen bleich gegen sie erschienen. Sie war eine hohe, edle Gestalt, ihr

²² Strubberg again describes the familiar palisaded fort and its interior furnishings. He mentions some valuable paintings on the wall (Vol. II, p. 168). Cf. Letters in the Appendix.

Kopf war klein, ihr Nacken schlank und rund, und ihr voller Busen wie aus schwarzem Marmor gehauen. Um ihre breiten Hüften lag ein scharlachrother seidener Shawl gebunden, und mit goldenen Schnüren waren die Sandalen unter ihren kleinen Füßen um ihre zierlichen Enkel befestigt. Ihr regelmässig schönes Gesicht trug die Form der edelsten weissen Menschenrace Asiens, und eine Cirkassierin würde sie um ihr Profil beneidet haben. Das Weiss ihrer grossen tiefdunkeln Augen war rein, wie die Perle an Persiens Gestaden und die Reihen ihrer wunderbar schön geformten Zähne glänzten wie der Schnee auf den Gebirgen Indiens. Ihre reizend geschnittenen üppig vollen Lippen glühten, wie die Granatblüthe in einer schwarzen Marmorschale und in ihrem melancholischen seelenvollen Antilopenblick stand ihr Schicksal geschrieben. Ihr glänzend schwarzes Haar rollte sich dicht an ihrem Kopf in unzählige kleine zierliche Löckchen zusammen und auf ihrer zarten Haut lag ein weicher Sammethauch."

Buardo loves Semona and buys her from Sarfzan for an enormous amount of ivory and gold dust. The gentle love of these two negroes is depicted with a beauty and delicacy that puts to shame that of their white brethren. Of course Strubberg has idealized beyond recognition. He is again embodying Rousseauian ideas. Strubberg has spared no effort to give his story color by the introduction of African scenery, and plants and animals native to Africa. The fierce wars between savage negro tribes are vividly described. At times, however, the reader feels that the author has transferred Indian customs to the negro.

The love of Buardo and Semona, the recapture of Semona, together with Buardo by Sarfzan, their final disposal to a slave dealer who transports them to a slave-ship bound for America, form the contents of the first half of the novel. The author does not omit giving his readers an account of life on the slave ship, and the manner of plying between the African and American coasts under difficulties of the law. The slave-ship anchors in one of the little bays along the coast of North Carolina.

In America Buardo and Semona are sold to the same planter. They live happily and are permitted to unite in marriage.

The conditions of slavery are portrayed unreservedly by the author. The good fortune of the two slaves continues but for a little while, when conditions cause their owner to sell them apart. Their unhappy fate as slaves in America is told with a realism strongly in contrast with their romantic life in their tropical homes in Africa.

The author, in poetic justice, finally after many difficulties brings Buardo and Semona together on a whaling ship. While on an expedition south of Cape Horn, they manage one dark night to lower one of the small boats and effect their escape to a little island. Here amid beautiful surroundings Buardo and Semona live out the rest of their days in happiness. Through whale ships which occasionally stopped at the island they had received fowls and garden seeds, and wanted none of the necessities of life.

"Von jetzt an," Strubberg closes, "besuchten alle Wallfischfahrer die Buardo-Insel, wie man sie nannte, und besorgten sich dort mit Gemüsen, mit Obst, Federvieh und frischem Fleisch, und noch auf den heutigen Tag ist die zahlreiche Familie Buardo's und Semona's im alleinigen Besitze der Insel und jeder Kapitän sieht mit Freuden und mit einem Trostgefühl nach der schönen kleinen Welt hin, an deren Ufer so mancher Seefahrer Hülfe und Rettung gefunden hat."

If Strubberg had any purpose beyond the writing of a fascinating novel it was rather that of embodying the Rousseauian nature theories than any anti-slavery purpose. The virtues of man in his simple state are very strikingly set forth in Buardo and Semona. That Rousseau's works were in the author's mind appears evident from a passage in which a prospective slave-buyer, being told of Semona's beauty and her present intense mourning for the lost Buardo, says (Vol. III, p. 229): "Das finde ich ja reizend, es zeigt von Gefühl; bin wirklich neugierig, eine schwarze *Heloise* zu sehen."

The dwelling of the two in happiness on the little tropical island also points to Bernardin St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, one of the first literary pieces to reflect Rousseau.

Sklaverei in Amerika was never republished. One of its novels *Die Mulattin* was, however, published separately in 1897.

1863.—*Carl Scharnhorst. Abenteuer eines deutschen Knaben in Amerika.* Von Armand. Mit sechs Bildern in Farbendruck, nach Zeichnungen von August Hengst. Hannover. Carl Rümpler. 1 Bd.

In a manner similar to that pursued in *Alte und Neue Heimath*, Strubberg again introduces us to a German family, the Turners, on their comfortable little farm in the beautiful valley of the Werra. Through a cousin, who possesses a farm along the Chesapeake Bay in America, they are persuaded to migrate to America. The family consists of Herr and Frau Turner, one daughter, two sons, and a related orphan, Carl Scharnhorst, whom the Turners had received into their family as one of their own. We follow the Turners over the Atlantic to Baltimore.²² Their cousin having in the meanwhile died, they find themselves alone and friendless in America. Through a bank which has defaulted in Baltimore they lose much of their money. In despair they conclude to find a home in the Far West. On the voyage to America the Turners had become acquainted with one of the crew, the negro Daniel. The Turners, being Germans, did not entertain the same prejudice against negroes, and were especially kind and friendly to Dan. The negro decides to serve and accompany them to the West. The author, in bringing Dan into the German family as a servant, takes the opportunity of showing the American attitude against the negro over against a foreigner's who entertains no such prejudices.

We follow the Turner family by train to Cincinnati, and thence by water to Memphis, where they start overland with two wagons drawn by horses and oxen. They reach the Indian territory west of Arkansas and stop at Fort Towsen, where a post of dragoons was stationed in order to protect the white settler against the Indians. They next reach the border town of Franklin, cross the Red River, and camp on the northern border of

²² Strubberg is partial to Baltimore and appears to be especially acquainted there. He frequently mentions it in his works. He lets many of his German characters land there.

Texas. After journeying a week longer they arrive at Preston, the last border settlement on the Red River. On the Choctaw Creek they find the "Warwick" clearing. They are persuaded to settle five miles away on Bear Creek.

The lad Carl Scharnhorst develops wonderful abilities as a huntsman, and it is his adventures that provide most of the material for this book. Dan, the negro, had earlier been a slave of the Indians, and through him Carl became thoroughly acquainted with Indian manners and customs. Dan had been called the "Spürer" by the Indians.

Strubberg now again introduces the whole machinery of Western life into this work. The author draws the distinction between the various Indian tribes, describes in a thrilling manner their fights with each other, and their attacks on the whites, as well as the friendly intercourse of the Delawares with the settlers. We learn to know minutely various animals of the forest and the plain. The beauties of the prairie are not omitted. The author again introduces one of his splendid descriptions of a prairie fire, with the terrified animals, fleeing before it. Were-read as it were the author's own *Amer. Jagd- und Reise-Abenteuer*, only presented in a shorter form, and with an attempt to connect the great number of episodes with the threads of a story.

The daring boy, Carl Scharnhorst, is a sort of youthful Leatherstocking. It is the youth's thrilling adventures and the wealth of minute descriptions of life on the frontier of Western America that have helped to make this the most popular of all of Strubberg's works. It was read by old and young, but it has always possessed a peculiar charm for the young, and even today occupies a prominent place among the juvenile books in German literature.²⁴

This work has passed through twelve editions.

²⁴ Abel and Müller, the publishers of the twelfth edition, place it in the class of works for boys of 10-14 years of age along with Alexis' *Die Hosen des Herrn von Bredow*, Cooper's *Der Spion*, W. Scott's *Ivanhoe*, *Quentin Durward*, *Der Talisman*, *Kenilworth*, etc. See book list at end of work in twelfth edition.

1864.—*Der Sprung vom Niagara-falle*. Von Armand. Hannover. Schmorl und von Seefeld. 4 Bde.

Of this work the first volume and a half of the second takes place in Scotland and Ireland, and is taken up with a rather conventional romance between Edward Corblair, son of the forester of Sir Oskar Aringthor in Ireland and Agnes Walcott, the daughter of a wealthy manufacturer. Edward Corblair's poverty and position make him an impossible suitor in the eyes of Mr. Walcott. There is little in this part of the work that is characteristic of Strubberg unless it is his accounts of the hunt and the adventures on sea off the coast of Ireland. One day a tale entitled *Die Fallenjäger im Westen von Amerika*, happens to reach the hands of Edward Corblair. It is the account of a young Englishman who, in a similar position, had wandered to America and accompanied several beaver trappers to the Far West. The hunt, the dangers, the struggles with the Indians, and especially the wealth which the trappers amassed from their beaver hides had much attraction for Edward, and he resolves to emigrate to America to win a home there for Agnes and himself. ". . . hatte Amerika nicht schon manches kranke Herz aufgenommen und geheilt, schon manche Schmerzensträne getrocknet und das Auge mit Freudenthränen gefüllt—berechtigten Edward's Fähigkeiten, Kenntnisse und Kräfte ihn nicht zu der Hoffnung, dort für sich und für Agnes in kurzer Zeit eine sorgenfreie Stellung zu erkämpfen?" (Vol. II, p. 121.)

Edward sails to America. The captain of the vessel is a German. Edward no sooner lands in New York than the epithet "damned foreigner" greets his ears. He is also soon given an opportunity to see the hatred of the whites against the blacks. "Ich glaubte hier in New York sei die Sklaverei abgeschafft?" fragte Edward. . . . "Das heisst, hier gehört der Schwarze nicht wie im Süden einem Herrn als Eigenthum an, hier ist er der verachtete Slave Jedermanns. Im Süden hat der Neger einen Schutz, eine Sicherstellung in seinem Herrn, wer dem Sklaven zu nahe kommt, tritt auch dessen Eigenthümer in den Weg; hier findet der Neger nirgends Schutz, hier wird er von Jedem miss-handelt," entgegenete der Capitän. . . . (Vol. II, p. 172.)

In the latter half of the second volume New York life, and especially the darker side of it, is portrayed. The author, as may be expected, now himself appears on the scene in a subsidiary rôle under the name of Armand. He is introduced as a very young man, who has just returned from the West Indies. Strubberg is probably thinking here of his first trip to America, about 1827. Armand and Edward Corblair, who has assumed the name Sam Patch, meet and become friends.

In the third volume Strubberg introduces the rather startling episode of a buffalo hunt in the city of New York. Sturton, a frontiersman, who reminds us a little of Cooper's Leatherstocking, has conceived the idea of bringing a party of Sioux Indians and a small herd of buffalo to the East and there presenting the public with sham buffalo hunts. The buffalo chase and its disastrous result in the city of New York is described. Armand arranges to travel West with Sturton and his Indians on their return. Edward decides to join. From New York the Indians are taken to Washington, where they are presented to the President, "der grosse Vater." In the same city Armand and Edward join Sturton and his Sioux on their return to the West. In this way, though first in the third volume, we are again led to the territory of the Indians. With the introduction of Western scenery and Indians, material with which the author is best acquainted, the narrative at once improves in quality and literary value.

Nothing but misfortune awaits Edward Corblair in the West. On the way thither the party is attacked by a band of Pahnee Indians. In the attack Edward is separated from the others of the party, but, after a time of solitary wandering, he is picked up by a band of Iowas. Through the Indian Utho he finally reaches a village of the Chippewas, only a journey of a few days from Lake Erie. Utho accompanies him to the head of the falls of the Niagara. It was here that Utho executed grim revenge on his faithless bride Zateka and her abductor, the white trader Toroney.²⁵ The character of the mighty Niagara Falls, which have

²⁵ See for the same episode Strubberg's poem *Die Rache* in the poems attached to the first edition of *In Mexico*.

frequently found interpreters in Germany, is throughout these pages well portrayed in the author's virile style.

Edward dejected in spirit takes lodging in the hotel by the falls. A great fête is about to be held. Illuminations are to take place, and a full-rigged schooner to be sent over the falls. Thousands of guests are expected to witness the spectacle. Edward had walked to the foot of the falls, examined them carefully and concluded it was not an impossibility for a good swimmer to venture a leap from the head of the falls into the seething river below. He had failed in his endeavors to acquire wealth by hunting the beaver. For money he will venture to leap from the head of the falls into the river below. His proposal is accepted by the landlord, who assures him of at least six thousand dollars. The event is to take place during the fête. The landlord at once begins to advertise in true American fashion. It is from this sensational leap that the work takes its name. Edward, flushed with success, allows himself to be persuaded to do a similar feat over the Trenton Falls near the city of Utica. In the meanwhile Agnes, left an orphan by the death of her father, who committed suicide on account of financial ruin, comes to America to join Edward. Hearing of the intended leap she hastens to Trenton Falls. The crowds are already gathered, the moment has come, Edward steps out upon the bridge prepared for him and leaps just as Agnes calling his name presses through the crowd to detain him. Edward disappears in the foaming mass below and is never seen again. Thus the hero whom we have followed through four volumes is whimsically disposed of. Agnes marries the faithful friend Aringthor, thus drawing this rambling work to an unsatisfactory conclusion.

The episodes with which this novel is decked out are interesting enough, though they are now and then somewhat exaggerated and out of taste. So for instance in Vol. III, p. 104, Strubberg describes a thrilling street scene in New York, where creditors are actively engaged in tearing down the building of a bank which has failed!

In Vol. IV, p. 93, a camp-meeting scene, a favorite subject, is again introduced.

In Vol. IV, p. 153, an Englishman is tarred and feathered for daring to strut along the streets of New York in the much hated English military uniform.

The author's unhappy method of carrying forward his "Nebeneinander" threads in the novel is nowhere better illustrated than in Vol. IV, p. 113. Here in one paragraph we find Agnes attending a Methodist camp-meeting in the vicinity of New York City. In the very next paragraph we find ourselves without a word of warning with Edward as a beaver hunter on the frontier.

Der Sprung vom Niagarafalle went through only one edition.

Before its publication in book form, it had appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* in 1863.

1865.—*In Mexico*. Von Armand. Leipzig. Julius Werner.
4 Bde.

This of all Strubberg's works, with the possible exception of *In Süd-Carolina* is the richest in purely historical material. The author, we remember, had drawn upon the incidents of the Mexican War in his *Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexicaner und Nordamerikaner* and also episodically in *Alte und neue Heimath*. *In Mexico* is, however, the only pretentious work devoted entirely to this epoch of American history. Though Strubberg was a contemporary of the war and in all probability served in the same for a short period, he has evidently drawn to some extent upon historical works for his material. Ethé has called *In Mexico* a supplement to Sealsfield's *Der Virey und die Aristokraten, oder Mexiko im Jahre 1812* (1834), and *Süden und Norden* (1842-1843), whose time of action is 1825.²⁶ The time of Strubberg's work is from ca. 1847 to 1849.

In this novel the separation of the plot and its background is particularly noticeable. About half the work is taken up with narrative dealing with the Mexican War and the Americans in Mexico. The figure of Santa Anna stands out prominently.

²⁶ Cf. Ethé: *Der transatlantisch-exotische Roman*, etc., in *Essays und Studien*, p. 47 f. Berlin, 1872.

His ambitions, his diplomacies, his manœuvres in battle are all related in a most attractive way, yet all this is very meagerly connected with the story itself. This historical setting, into which are introduced Generals Scott, Taylor and Worth, and many other officers apparently fictitious, serves but as a background for a rather bizarre romance in which the leading characters are chosen from among the Spanish aristocracy. The historical background gives the work a dignity and value rather out of harmony with the gaudy story itself. Perhaps the author's greatest achievement in the work lies in his gorgeous descriptions of natural scenery. Strubberg's abilities are never shown to better advantage than in his descriptions in which he catches up, with the eye of the artist and the words of the poet, the very odor and atmosphere of the forests, mountains and prairies of Western America. The following description will illustrate (Vol. I, p. 14, Ed. 2):

"Lange noch ehe das Grauen des Morgens sich zeigte, erglühnten plötzlich in rosigem Schein zwei Punkte am dunkeln, mit Milliarden funkelnder Sterne übersäeten südlichen Himmel, die sich wie zwei rasch wachsende Gestirne an Farbenpracht zu überbieten schienen. Von einem blassen rosa Hauch, der sie zuerst andeutete, gingen sie in ein tiefes Carmin über und glänzten bald darauf wie glühend leuchtende Rubine. Es waren die eisgekrönten Häupter der beiden Vulkane Itztaccihuatl und Popocatepetl, die in ihrer schwindelnden Aetherhöhe jetzt schon, wo noch die Welt um sie her in tiefer finsterner Nacht lag, von dem nahenden Morgen geküsst wurden. Heller, schillernder und feuriger wechselten ihre Farben von Minute zu Minute, bis sie bei dem Erröthen des östlichen Himmels in die Schattierungen des Goldes übergingen, und die ganzen Riesengestalten der beiden Berge aus der fliehenden Nacht hervortraten. Bald färbten sich auch die Gebirge im Westen des noch von der Nacht verhüllten Thales von Tenochtitlan, und ihre Kuppen erglänzten in dem ersten Lichte des Morgens, während die Sterne am Himmel erbleichten und das Feuerlicht in der Stadt Mexiko vor der Helligkeit des Tages verschwand."

The chief characters in the story are the young German painter Lothar von Colmar,²⁷ and the Spanish Condesa Urania. Their love for each other supplies the thread of romance.

In Mexico, like so many of Strubberg's novels, lacks unity. The Mexican War having come to an end, we follow the German Von Colmar on his way to California, whither the recent discovery of gold is leading thousands of others. The author with his usual skill portrays the emigrants wandering across the prairies on their way to California. In thrilling narrative he depicts the horrors of the prairie fire, the hardships of traveling long stretches without water, and the death of many of the caravan through blood-thirsty Indians. We are also given a picture of the infant city of San Francisco during the gold fever.

At the end of the fourth volume of the first edition of this novel are found a number of poems which will be considered separately.

A second edition of *In Mexico* appeared in an abridged form in 1898. The poems were not added.

1866.—*Saat und Ernte*. Roman von Armand. Leipzig. Ernst Julius Günther. 5 Bde.

The scene of action opens among slave owners in Kentucky. We are introduced to the old aristocratic Williams family; also to the Randolphs. The latter, who possess less slaves and soil, have come from the State of New York and entertain Northern democratic views as to slavery, which causes the Williams's to hate them intensely. Williams has a son named Harry and Randolph one named Albert.

It is the purpose of the author to follow the lives of these two young men throughout many interesting adventures and to bring them together at times, thus comparing Albert's noble life with that of the scoundrel Harry Williams. Strubberg is fond of contrasting the good and the evil and letting the former triumph over the latter. The reader, however, must feel that this could

²⁷ In spite of the letters *ar*, with which the author characterized the names employed for his own personality as Armand, Farnwald, Franval, and Farland, the character Lothar von Colmar cannot be identified as Strubberg's.

be accomplished in less than five volumes. The rambling, episodic character of the work, so unduly prolonged suggests that the author's interests were mercenary rather than literary.

For some time Strubberg describes the illustrious career of Albert Randolph as a law student in Philadelphia, where he becomes a poet and is celebrated all over America as the poet Albert. In this part of the novel the conditions of the German laboring class in Philadelphia and the great strike, which results from the fact that the German laborer gives better service for less money is vividly reflected.

Soon we are again transported to the familiar soil of Texas, whither Albert had migrated. The author's invariable endeavors to bring his characters to Texas are sometimes rather strained, though he usually attempts to give a reason. Of Texas he says (Vol. I, p. 71): "Es gab ein Land, welches nach Allem, was man bis jetzt davon wusste, zu solchen hochfliegenden Hoffnungen berechtigte, welches bei halber Arbeit doppelte Ernten lieferte, welches nicht mit dem Fluch verherender Krankheiten belastet war und welches einen schuldbeladenen Fremden als schuldfreien Bürger in sich aufnahm. Dies Land war Texas. . . ."

Harry Williams deals in slaves and unlawfully conducts slave ships to the coast of Africa, where he bought up negroes, and returned to the coast of Brazil, not without much danger from the English, who had scouting vessels out, which often gave successful chase. To avoid this danger the slave ship was provided with two captains, the second being called the flying captain. The real captain received his rights of sailing to and from Africa from the Brazilian marine. The flying captain received his papers from the American consul in Brazil, with permission to sail to Africa and return with cargo of palmoil, gold-dust, and ivory. When the ship was held up by an English scouting vessel which suspected slaves, the flying captain stepped forward, showed his papers, and all was well.

In the second volume Harry is shipwrecked off the coast of Brazil. The author, it has been observed, is very partial to shipwrecks and introduces them at the least provocation. Harry in his wanderings arrives in Mexico in 1832. The author now

brings in a mass of historical matter, which in point of time precedes that in *In Mexico*. Harry enters Mexico at a time when the air resounds with Vivas! for the hero Santa Anna, who had triumphed over the president, General Bustamente, and now himself attempted to mount the presidential chair. In 1833 Santa Anna was elected to the presidency.

In Vol. IV we witness the attack of General Houston upon Santa Anna, in which the latter is taken prisoner and made to obey orders. Santa Anna is described as a proud character, of courteous exterior, gallant toward the ladies, cruel in battle, but cowardly when captured. In the meanwhile Texas declares itself a republic.

Harry Williams is accused of forgery and Strubberg introduces one of his thrilling court-room scenes. (The author appears to have had an uncommon knowledge of the law and delights in describing lawsuits.)

Once we follow the noble life of Albert Randolph, then again the low career of Harry Williams. The novel illustrates the "Nebeneinander" technique, though in a rather diffuse manner. One episode follows another, characters are introduced and make their exits, and new ones take their place in a most kaleidoscopic fashion. There is no reason why the work is so long any more than why it should stop at the end of the fifth volume. A commercial interest either on the part of the author or publisher does not seem to be quite absent.

This work appeared as Vols. 9-13 in the *Album. Bibliothek deutscher Originalromane*. 21. Jahrgang, 1866.

1867.—*Friedrichsburg, die Colonie des deutschen Fürstenvereins in Texas*. Von Armand. Leipzig. Friedrich Fleischer. 2 Bde.

Friedrichsburg is together with *Alte und Neue Heimath*, Strubberg's most important contribution to the cultural history of the Germans in America. Strubberg has never received due recognition for having given to the world the most faithful account of the German colonies, Neu-Braunfels and Friedrichsburg. Though these accounts are in literary form, a comparison

with later histories will show how conscientiously the author endeavored to give accuracy to his work. In *Friedrichsburg* the author has devoted himself in particular to that colony in whose early history he himself played no unimportant role as Colonial-director.

The novel is dedicated as follows: "Seiner Hoheit dem regierenden Herzog von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha Ernst II. in tiefster Ehrfurcht unterthänigst gewidmet vom Verfasser."

In the preface the author states his purposes thus: "Wenn ich nun in diese, treu und wahr dem Leben entnommene Erzählung als Würze den Faden eines Romanes eingeflochten habe, dessen einzelne Momente jedoch gleichfalls auf wirklichen Begebenheiten beruhen, so greift derselbe in keiner Weise störend, oder entstellend in das Geschichtliche des Werkes ein, sondern dient vielmehr dazu, dem entworfenen Bilde noch lebendigere Farbe und hellere Beleuchtung zu verleihen.

"Wie manches Band der Verwandschaft, der Freundschaft, der Liebe, wurde damals nach dem fernen Wunderlande gespannt, wie mancher heisse Wunsch zog mit den dahineilenden Freunden über den weiten Ocean nach dem verheissenen Paradiese, und wie mancher innige Herzensgruss wandert wohl noch immer aus der alten deutschen Heimath durch den ungemessenen Raum nach dem wonnigen, sonnigen ewiggrünen Texas hinüber! Und darum darf ich wohl hoffen, dass die nachstehenden treuen Schilderungen der damaligen Zustände und Verhältnisse der deutschen Colonien in Texas, so wie des Landes, der Ureinwohner desselben und deren Sitten und Gebräuchen auch jetzt noch unter meinen verehrten Lesern Interesse finden werden. Der Verfasser."

The scene of action opens on a clear star-lit night in Texas. Rudolph von Wildhorst, the young man around whom much of the romance in the novel clusters, is riding wildly along the road from the colony Neu-Braunfels toward the more recent German settlement Friedrichsburg. He is pursued by Indians. Now he rides down the main street, San Sabastrasse of Friedrichsburg, and then down the Schubbertstrasse to a lonely house, where he is greeted at early dawn by his love Ludwina Nimanski.

Major Nimanski of Galizia and Obrist v. Wildhorst, a pensioned Prussian officer, the fathers of the above young couple, were attracted by the alluring advertisements sent through Germany by the "Mainzer Adelsverein," and emigrated with many other Germans to Texas, where the German settlements Neu-Braunfels and Friedrichsburg were founded.

Colonialdirektor Schubbert²⁸ is soon introduced and remains in a sense the dominating character throughout the novel. It will have been apparent before now that Strubberg is an egoist. His haughty domineering spirit is evident throughout this work. In that valuable little book, *Fest-Ausgabe zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum der deutschen Kolonie Friedrichsburg* (1896), he is characterized by the same traits.²⁹ A comparison of the incidents in the novel with those connected with the early history of the colony as recounted in the *Fest-Ausgabe* so many years later, will show how much of what appears as fiction in the novel is really based on historic facts.

The inception of the "Mainzer Adelsverein," its purpose, its endeavors to acquire land in Texas, its dealings with the land sharks Fischer and Miller, its activities in founding the colonies Neu-Braunfels and Friedrichsburg are carefully outlined, though but few historical characters are actually introduced. The sufferings of the emigrants on the coast of Texas before being transported to the interior, their life in the settlement, and the breaking out of disease among them, as related by Strubberg is fairly well authenticated by historical works.³⁰

The great peace treaty with the Comanche Indians, introduced by Strubberg, is probably a reflection of the peace treaty entered upon on Freiherr von Meusebach's expedition.³¹ Von

²⁸ The pseudonym which Strubberg had in reality assumed. The German colonists, however, seem to have spelled the name with only one *b*. See *Fest-Ausgabe*.

²⁹ In the novel the author draws himself in a favorable light. In the *Fest-Ausgabe* he is portrayed as a character not beyond reproach.

³⁰ Cf. Franz Locher: *Gesch. u. Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, 1847; p. 348 f.; also Frederick Law Olmsted: *Wanderungen durch Texas und im mexicanischen Grenzlande*. Aus dem Englischen, 1857, p. 120 f. Strubberg's statement that 8000 emigrants landed and several thousand died is exaggerated.

³¹ Cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 86.

Meusebach, by far the most important figure in the history of these German settlements, is not mentioned by Strubberg. Strubberg introduces in his novel *Santa Anna*, an Indian chief, named after the great Mexican General, and Mopochocope.³² Kateumsi, who figures in the novel, is probably the Ketemoczy of the *Fest-Ausgabe*. Proviantmeister Bickel, according to the *Fest-Ausgabe*, a despicable character, is introduced as a pleasant, good-natured person. The description of the Mormons in their settlement near Friedrichsburg is also based on fact.³³ The Friedrichsburg cannon, which is such a prominent object in the novel, was actually one of the colony's early weapons of defense. The graphic description at the beginning of the second volume of the Indians gathered in Friedrichsburg to receive the presents agreed upon at the time of the peace treaty is also based on fact.³⁴ In Vol. II, p. 150, occurs the festival of the laying of the cornerstone of the church. No doubt reference is here made to the octagonal wooden church, built at the instigation of Schubbert (Strubberg).³⁵

The work is rich in Indian material. The author does not hesitate to draw Indians realistically. In *Friedrichsburg*, however, some of the Indians introduced are exceedingly noble, and even from excess of emotion weep!

Though *Friedrichsburg* is for us of today one of the most valuable of Strubberg's many works, it went through only one edition.

1868.—*Aus Armand's Frontierleben*. Von Armand. Leipzig. Julius Werner. 3 Bde.

As the title suggests, Strubberg has again drawn upon his never-failing source: the years spent as a frontiersman on the banks of the Leona. Under this title are included the novel *Leonide*, which takes up two volumes and a few pages of the third, and the two novelettes, *Die drei Haushälterinnen* and *Ein Wilder*.

³² Both are mentioned in the *Fest-Ausgabe*, only the latter is spelled Mopochucope. Cf. p. 106.

³³ Cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 108.

³⁴ Cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 117.

³⁵ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 73. For picture of same, see p. 24.

Leonide is named after its heroine. The form of the novel, like most of Strubberg's, is open to criticism. Strubberg never learned to skilfully weave his exposition into the body of a work. He must of necessity begin with the very beginning. In this instance we are taken to the San Saba Mountains, where we learn to know Alfred Davis, whom misfortune had driven to these lonely parts where he had already for ten years been engaged as a trapper of beaver. "Wie die Magnethadel nach Norden zeigt, so winkt in Amerika das Unglück immer nach Westen" (p. 4). Davis had won the affections of Kionata, the daughter of the chief of the Caddoes, who had secretly left her tribe to live with him. Kionata falls a victim to the revenge of her kinsmen and leaves Davis alone with a small daughter, Leonide. Kionata had adhered to the religion of her fathers and extracted a solemn promise from her child to remain faithful to the same. It is the fate of Leonide and the conflict of the nature-religion of her mother with the religion of her white father within her that form the substance for this work. Leonide is one of the most delightful of Strubberg's creations. Indeed, it has been remarked that the author excelled in the delineation of female characters. It is a fact that Strubberg has spent his most poetic efforts in the portrayal of female personalities, and especially such who live on the border line of nature and of civilization.²² It is in the depicting of the Indian girl and the quadroon or mulatto of the South that he has allowed himself the greatest poetic license.

In this novel Strubberg again appears to be operating with the Rousseauian idea that human nature is good before it becomes defiled through the influence of human culture. Leonide is a Rousseauian character.

Leonide's father remarries and settles at a distance of a several days' ride from Strubberg's settlement on the Leona. Leonide is reared with all the advantages that a Christian home in such a remote district could offer. In spite of all she is never

²² Cf. H. Ethé: *Der transatlantisch-exotische Roman*, etc., in *Essays und Studien*. Berlin, 1872.

quite able to release herself from the faith of her mother. Strubberg under the name of Armand himself plays the role of lover to the fair Indian maid. The poetry of this romance is put in fine contrast to the rough realism of a frontier village. As a background serves an intrigue between several white men inimical to Armand and the Indian kinsmen of Leonide for the purpose of disposing of Armand and incidentally restoring Leonide to her people. On the eve of Armand's marriage with Leonide a fearful storm rages, during which the Davis home is attacked by Indians. At the moment that Leonide sinks in the arms of the Indian chief Toscalor, her maternal grandfather, both are hurled to the ground and killed by a bolt of lightning. This sensational close is only another instance of Strubberg's weakness. Leonide's totally unmotivated death is distasteful in the highest degree, and introduced for no other apparent reason than to avoid Armand's union with Leonide. The author frequently introduces himself in his novels as the lover, but consistently avoids actual marriage.⁸⁷

Die drei Haushälterinnen, the second work included under the title *Aus Armand's Frontierleben* occupies 135 pages of the third volume. This, with the novelette *Ein Wilder*, which follows directly upon it, together with *Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexicaner und Nordamerikaner*, and the little work *Der Methodisten-Geistliche*, comprise Strubberg's only endeavors in the shorter novelistic form. We can only wish he had taken this form more frequently and thus avoided those difficulties which he never mastered in the more extensive form.

One trait in Strubberg's works, conspicuous by its absence, is a sense of humor. The author's seriousness is in itself almost amusing. This lack of humor may be due partly to the author's many vicissitudes in life, partly also to the age of the author. In this novellette, *Die drei Haushälterinnen*, the author has, however, really proved himself capable of sketching a series of humorous situations. It is perhaps the most refreshing of all of Strubberg's works.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Bis in die Wildniss* and *An der Indianer-Grenze*.

We are again taken to the banks of the Leona. The lonely fort, once occupied by Armand and his three fellow colonists, is now forsaken and ruined. With the advance of other settlers, Armand found it necessary to alter his habits of life, and to that end built himself a more pretentious residence on the Leona, only a half-hour below the old fort which served as "ein Anhaltspunkt seiner Erinnerung an die glücklichen Tage der Ruhe und Zufriedenheit nach den schweren Lebensstürmen, die ihn hierher verschlagen hatten." One of the most decided steps toward a return to civilization was the giving over of his domestic affairs into the hands of a woman, Suky, a colossal colored mammy. Suky's wonderful perspiring propensities, however, soon make it quite impossible for Armand to appreciate her culinary art, and he writes a German friend in New Orleans to secure him a German housekeeper. Armand's difficulties with the three successive German housekeepers who have no sooner arrived than they are taken in marriage by the lonely, wife-seeking squatters of that remote district, form the material for this delightful little story.

This is followed by *Ein Wilder*, a novelette of 113 pages. It is the romance of a stalwart Indian youth and the only daughter of a frontiersman. The daughter Lydia had been carried off by the Indians, but is restored to her people by the Indian brave Paneo, who has fallen a victim to the charms of the fair captive. Through the efforts of Armand, who again makes his appearance and plays the benefactor as so often, the Indian youth is given Christian instruction and finally marries Lydia. Paneo is idealized in the extreme. The splendid imagery and rhetoric in the mouth of the Indian youth appears out of place.

The inversion of numerous letters throughout the three volumes of *Aus Armand's Frontierleben*, a note at the end of the work explains is due to no fault of the compositor, but done at the order of the author. It was Strubberg's way of protecting his work against pirating publishers.

In the same year (1868) a second edition of *Aus Armand's Frontierleben* was published in one volume by Carl Rümpler, of Hannover.

1869.—*In Süd-Carolina und auf dem Schlachtfelde von Langensalza*. Von Armand. Hannover. Carl Rümpler. 4 Bde.

The sensational romance woven into this work reflects little credit on the author and we may well omit tracing out its rambling threads. For the panorama which the work gives of the rise and progress of the Civil War, however, the author deserves unreserved praise. The wealth of political and military detail and the conscientious accuracy observed throughout is all the more remarkable when we recall that the author has again passed out of the sphere of his own experiences for his material, having again returned to Germany several years before the time of action. The author is therefore probably indebted to newspaper reports or more accurate historical works. The slave element and the descriptions of Southern plantation life no doubt rest on personal experience. This work has perhaps less of cultural material than his earlier ones, but here the author is above all a reporter of national events, and all else is secondary.

The scene of action opens on a Louisiana plantation. The planter and his family are greatly concerned about the outcome of the pending presidential election. The older daughter Olympia and her lover Staunton are vehement supporters of the South; the younger daughter loves Captain Bayard, a Northern engineer, then building the forts Jackson and St. Philipp on the Mississippi. The younger daughter's sympathies are naturally with the North. The vigorous dialog between the two daughters and their lovers, and the final ostracism of the younger daughter give the author ample opportunity for introducing the political differences of the North and the South. Of the Southerners Olympia says (Vol. I, p. 9): "Frei und zum Herrn geboren, hat der Südländer das ihm von seinen edlen Vorfahren hinterlassene Erbtheil, seine Macht, seine Rechte, bis jetzt seinem Verbündeten, dem Nordländer gegenüber zu schirmen und zu schützen gewusst, er ist die stärkste Stütze der Union gewesen, hat die Schlachten gegen deren Feinde geschlagen und mit seinem Blute ihre Grenzen erweitert, ihren Reichthum, ihre Grösse vermehrt. Doch der Ritter des Südens wird dem Schacherer im Norden zu reich, zu mächtig, zu unabhängig, er giebt diesen nordischen Krämerseelen noch nicht

genug Prozente ab von dem Verdienste, welchen er der Erde abgewinnt, und um seine Macht zu brechen, ihn dem Norden unterthänig zu machen, greift man nach seinen, ihn durch die Constitution garantirten Rechten, und will ihm seine Arbeitskräfte, seine Slaven nehmen. . . ."

The announcement of Lincoln's election is brought. Great consternation prevails (Vol. I, p. 142 f.): "Wie ein zündender Blitz in eine Pulvermine, so flog der Name Lincoln durch die Südstaaten Amerika's, und setzte Reich und Arm, Vornehm und Niedrig, Alt und Jung, Mann und Weib in stürmische Aufregung, in Wuth und Raserei.

"In keinem der Slavenstaaten aber war die Wirkung eine so heftige, eine so zügellose, wie in Süd-Carolina, welches seit seinem Eintritt in die Union stets dem Norden das Widerspiel gehalten hatte, und immer der Leiter der übrigen Slavenstaaten gewesen war. . . ."

"Der Augenblick war erschienen, wo die langjährigen Bemühungen dieser Feinde der Union Früchte tragen sollten, und Süd-Carolina zögerte nicht einen Augenblick nach Lincoln's Erwählung, das Feuer in das Pulverfass zu werfen.

"Die Gesetzgebung dieses kleinen Staates war versammelt, und beschloss einstimmig die sofortige Lostrennung von der Union. In Charleston kündigten mit wenigen Ausnahmen alle Beamten der Regierung ihren Dienst, die Bewohner der Stadt begannen, in die Miliz einzutreten, blaue Cocarden erschienen an den Hüten der Männer. . . ."

Forts Moultray and Sumter are described. Major Anderson, whose career is sketched, is stationed at the former. In December of 1860 the battleship "Pluto" makes its appearance. Anderson's removal to Fort Sumter and the burning of Fort Moultray are told at length by the author.

The second volume opens in Charleston, which is thronged with people, gathered there to await the crisis. South Carolina had seceded. On January 5, 1861, arrives the report that President Buchanan refused to receive the officers of the independent state and that he entertained no intention of withdrawing the Union troops from the forts. "Das," writes Strubberg (Vol. II,

p. 16 f.), "war der zündende Blitz, der die Flammen des Krieges in Süd-Carolina entfesselte und sie nach den übrigen Sklavenstaaten hinüber lodern liess."

The author continues to weave into his story a full report of the actions of the South. Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and finally Texas, now also join the republic of South Carolina. In Montgomery, Alabama, the Confederacy is founded and Jefferson Davis elected to its Presidency.

Strubberg now takes up Lincoln, tells how he leaves his quiet modest home in Springfield, and travels by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore to Washington. On the way a plot arranged by the Southerners to murder Lincoln, is discovered and Lincoln is secretly taken to Washington a day earlier than he had planned. General Scott, the old hero of the Mexican War, had gathered a small army to protect Lincoln. The Confederacy now institutes an army and appoints Major Pierre Gustave Toutant, named Beauregard as Brigadier-General. Strubberg stops to carefully sketch Beauregard's career. In April Beauregard receives orders to command Major Anderson of the Union to evacuate Fort Sumter and to attack the same upon refusal. Then follows (Vol. II, p. 132), a splendid description of the attack on Fort Sumter and the beginning of the Civil War.

The further secession of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee, and the final declaration of war against the rebellious South is recounted. Jefferson Davis, though the author seldom introduces conspicuous historical figures into the dialog itself, makes his appearance at a social in the palace of Artega, a wealthy Southerner, in Charleston, where the principals in the romance are gathered.

In Vol. III a spirited account of Bull Run is given. Strubberg had already in the first volume introduced his inevitable German in the person of young Wallstein, who, out of enthusiasm for the republican form of government, comes to America. His unpleasant experiences and his ideas of the republic, and its slavery form an interesting part of the work. They probably reflect some of the author's own ideas.

Bayard's activities as a spy, the bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philipp under Farragut, and the attack on New Orleans, form the chief episodes of the third volume. Generals Lee and MacClellan are mentioned.

After following Staunton, the lover of Olympia, through three volumes, the author with astonishing brevity disposes of him by letting an alligator swallow him on the banks of the Mississippi, where Staunton lay wounded from a naval battle.

The author's total lack of proportion and inner unity is nowhere more clearly shown than in this work. At the end of the third volume Strubberg with inartistic abruptness abandons all the characters we have learned to know but Wallstein who, sick of America, returns to his own home in Westphalia and again takes up his work as an advocate.

The fourth volume appears to have no other purpose than to enlarge the work. It consists of a rather insipid love story, in which Wallstein plays only an unimportant role. Its only redeeming feature is its political reflections and the graphic description of the meeting of the Hannoverian army with the Prussian on the battlefield of Langensalza.

This work was never republished.

1870.—*Der Krösus von Philadelphia*. Von Armand. Hannover. Carl Rümler. 4 Bde.

Strubberg's baroque form of composition is well illustrated in *Der Krösus*. Having well exhausted his own personal experiences, he now reverts to other phases of American history. In the previous novel the period of the Civil War was exploited. *Der Krösus* is the first work in which material antedating the author's own time is introduced. It is in part a historical novel, in which the author betrays a close study of American affairs.

The action of the novel begins with the year 1791, in St. Domingo. Graf Louvencourt, a rich planter and slaveholder, finds himself in a dangerous position on account of the strained condition between the whites and the blacks. At a recent congress in Paris the mulattoes had been given equal rights with the whites.

To this congress Vincent Ogé⁸⁸ had been sent as a mulatto from the French island St. Domingo.

By a decree of July, 1792, also all negroes who were born of free parents were given equal rights with the whites. The mulattoes, many of whom were already wealthy and influential, now plotted to draw all the inhabitants of color to themselves and extract by power the privileges hitherto denied them by the whites. The uprisings against the whites and the fearful atrocities resorted to in the execution of their revenge are skilfully narrated and occupy a large part of the first volume.⁸⁹

In the fifth chapter, the scene of action changes to the peaceful Quaker city of Philadelphia. At this time the United States had the commerce with the West Indies almost solely in its own hands. Philadelphia, "die Bruderstadt," was the chief business centre for this commerce. One of the oldest commercial houses in Philadelphia was that of Thomas Pennel, who is portrayed as a miser. Pennel had ten years before taken into his employ an orphaned Irish lad, Richard Gatlard, who develops remarkable business faculties, but is nevertheless retained in the office of Pennel at a wretched salary. The reports of an approaching famine in St. Domingo reach the ears of Pennel. The war between England and France prevented France from sending supplies. The internal uprisings on the island also prevented the production of food. Flour is already selling at \$20 per barrel. Pennel buys up flour at \$2.50 per barrel, loads the vessel "Neptune" with it, and sends young Gatlard to St. Domingo with it. Pennel hopes to win \$50,000. Gatlard is to receive five per cent. commission.

On arriving at St. Domingo, Gatlard is beseeched by Louvencourt to save them from the murdering negroes, who were mercilessly slaying the whites. Louvencourt offers Gatlard an enormous sum for conveying himself, family and possessions to an American port. Gatlard agrees, but will take no passengers on until the following day. In the meanwhile their possessions

⁸⁸ The character Vincent Ogé suggests Theodor Mügge's *Toussaint* (1840).

⁸⁹ The two-volume edition of 1898 has been used.

are to be brought on board. Louvencourt and many others bring their countless treasures on board expecting an onslaught from the negroes at any moment. On the morrow all are to be taken on board.

The sun had sunk behind the hills of Cape Haiti. Gatlard had gotten \$150,000 from the whites as passage money. He was a wealthy man. His eyes glanced over the numberless chests and casks on the deck, holding priceless treasures and money beyond counting. If the owners, thought Gatlard, should fall victims to the negro insurgents, would he not be lawful heir? Strange indefinite thoughts flit through his active mind. Why must he wait for the passengers tomorrow? The day dawns, the report of cannon is heard. The negroes have fallen upon the whites. The Louvencourts, fleeing, put out to sea on a small sailboat, headed for the "Neptune." Seeking a slight excuse in the dangers of himself being attacked by the negroes, he orders the "Neptune" to lift anchor and sail away before the very face of the despairing Louvencourts.

Gatlard escapes with the treasures, returns to Philadelphia, dissolves connections with Pennel, and becomes by far the wealthiest man in Philadelphia. The life of the conscience-stricken Gatlard, though much obscured by other threads in the novel, is the theme of the work. Gatlard is "Der Krösus von Philadelphia."

The Louvencourts are finally picked up by another sailing vessel, the "Delphia," bound for New Orleans.

Strubberg, having little consideration for the patience of his readers, now stops to give an historical account of Louisiana. The Louvencourts have left New Orleans, taken a boat up the Mississippi, and settle on the Black River, a very remote territory, still open to hostile Indians.

Strubberg now introduces his usual Indian element. The Indian's relation with the Spanish and the French, also receive due discussion. The author here introduces a Spanish fort, situated at the confluence of the Red and the Black Rivers, which is occupied by General Don Sarzano, who insists on spending his life here with sixty men in defiance of the Indians. General Don

Sarzano is one of the author's most individual characters. His life and strange relation to the beautiful Whelika, daughter of an Indian chief, have only a very slight connection with the main thread of the work and form an interesting little novelette in itself.

At the beginning of the second volume we revert to the career of Gatlard, who lives in regal splendor in Philadelphia. He has forsaken his early love Aglaja Astor and becomes the successful suitor of Octavio, the beautiful daughter of the wealthy Lord Rowley, residing in Philadelphia.⁴⁰ The episode of General Don Sarzano in his fort is continued. He at last falls a victim to Indians. His body is sunk at night into the waters of the Black River, at the place familiar to future generations as "Sarzano's Grave."

The century had drawn to a close. Washington, the father of the great new republic, had passed away. Spain had sold Louisiana to France. The new president was Thomas Jefferson, "ein alter Soldat aus dem Unabhängigkeitskriege, ein Freund und die rechte Hand des verstorbenen Washington, ein reiner edler Republikaner, der schon bei der Unabhängigkeitserklärung darauf drang, dass kein Stück amerikanischer Erde unter einer fremden Macht verbleiben dürfe" (Vol. II, p. 184). Through Jefferson's endeavors Louisiana had been purchased.

Louvencourt had prospered on the North River. His happiness was increased through the arrival of many other French families who, through the influence of the negro Toussaint upon the unbridled negro insurgents, were enabled to leave St. Domingo and reach American soil in safety.

The years passed in peace and quiet until suddenly in 1812 the country plunged into a second war with England. The author mentions the storming of Washington and the burning of the capitol. Also he mentions General Jackson and his fortifying New Orleans by means of cotton bales. An attack on the city by the English in January, 1815, is described.

⁴⁰ It is the Philadelphia of the period directly after the Revolution. The author introduces less definite local color, however, than is noticeable in those of his works whose time of action is contemporaneous.

The time of action now suddenly shifts to the spring of 1828. On the slender American brig, the "Lady Adams," sailing up the sparkling Chesapeake is a single passenger, a young German named Armand.⁴¹ Strubberg, regardless of the action of his story, now takes time to speak of Armand; is careful to show that Armand never takes brandy;⁴² lets him visit the Washington monument in Baltimore, then in course of erection; then brings him on to Philadelphia by water. On the way Armand meets a young American officer, Horton. Armand asks him whether he knows the wealthy Richard Gatlard, for he has letters of credit and recommendation addressed to him. He discovers that Horton is Gatlard's nephew, his mother being Gatlard's sister. Armand pays Gatlard a visit. It is through Horton, whose father was a friend of Louvencourt, that the aged Gatlard and Louvencourt, whom he so foully robbed in his youth, are brought together in a very striking scene at the close of the work. Few were ever to know what a wretched life the conscience-stricken "Krösus" had lived. The citizens of Philadelphia recognized in him only the kind old philanthropist.

With the completion of this novel Strubberg had spanned in his works in a manner the whole period of the history of the United States from the time directly after the Revolution down through the Civil War.

A second edition of *Der Krösus* was published in two volumes in 1895 as the third "Abtheilung" in *Armand's ausgewählte Romane*.

1872.—*Die alte spanische Urkunde*. Von Armand. Hannover. Carl Rümpler. 2 Bde.

This work commands the attention of the reader from beginning to end, but is built on a rather absurd idea. Robert and Sarah Walton are the orphaned children of an Irish father and

⁴¹ This autobiographic reference is hardly accurate. Strubberg's first trip to America antedates 1828.

⁴² A friend of the author living in Gelnhausen today told the writer that Strubberg said he had never drunk a glass of "Feuerwasser" in his life.

a Spanish mother, the daughter of an old aristocrat Mendoza, who lived in America. They have in their possession an old document which shows that Mendoza had received large grants of land along the Gulf of Mexico from the Spanish government, to which land they are the lawful heirs. In the first sixty pages we follow the two heirs with their document to Havanna. After a stirring ocean voyage the two land at Havanna, where their grandfather, Mendoza, had gone when the Spanish lands along the Gulf passed into French control. Through the assistance of the English consul investigations are made in the Spanish bureau, and it is discovered that Robert and Sarah Walton are the legitimate heirs of all the land on which the prosperous city of Mobile is located!

The author now leaves the two heirs and transfers his readers to the Far West, to the land he knows so well, the land on the banks of the beautiful Leona. Here on the plantation of a rich Spaniard, whose name is also Mendoza, the action now continues for some time. Doctor Armand (the author himself) now enters. Though not very active, he is a potent factor, constantly giving advice and counsel. An unnatural humility or modesty never prevented Strubberg from revealing his own personality (or shall we say the better part of his personality?). The autobiographical material introduced is fairly consistent with that found elsewhere throughout his works. The author does not spare himself in ascribing to Armand that haughty manner which seems to have been one of his most evident characteristics in life. He lets one of the characters say of Armand (Vol. I, p. 235 f.):

"Dort kommt auch Einer herangeritten, der nicht weiss, wo er sich vor Hochmuth lassen soll und der die Gegend hier lange genug beherrscht hat, weil er früher der einzige Arzt hier war."

An old planter, Arnold, replies: "Und wohl mit Recht, Herr Doctor, thun ihm die Leute hier gern etwas nach Wunsch, denn er hat Jahre lang dieses Land bewohnt, als kein anderer Weisser es der Indianer wegen wagte, hierher zu ziehen, und hat, als endlich die Ansiedler sich um ihn niederliessen, ihnen beigestan-

den und geholfen, wo er konnte, und hat sie mit grösster Aufopferung in Krankheiten behandelt. . . . Sagen Sie mir nichts gegen Doctor Armand, oder wir werden böse Freunde!"

The action of the novel takes place at a time when Armand had forsaken his fort on the Leona (probably about 1845), and taken a more pretentious dwelling nearby, where he lived with Addison, his mulatto boy, Milly, his quadroon housekeeper, and his old dog Joe.

Of the picturesque ruins of his old fort on the high banks of the Leona he says (Vol. I, p. 243): "Mich stimmt es immer wehmütig, wenn ich nach dem alten, lieben Asyl, nach dem Fort hinaufschau und daran denke, wie mich damals das Gefühl, Herr zu sein so weit der Himmel blau, erhebend und für frühere Leiden entschädigend durchströmte, wie ich dort mein Schicksal in eigener Hand trug und alles Unangenehme aus meinem Reiche zurückwies und von mir abschüttelte."

In the meanwhile Robert and Sarah Walton have come to Mobile and put in their claims for the possession of all the land on which that city is located. They succeed in getting the prominent advocate Starford to take up the case. The citizens of Mobile rise up in indignation against the foreign upstarts, who are claiming their lands. Robert Walton is killed and the advocate is obliged to flee. Sarah had been sent to New Orleans in order to escape the expected troubles. A price is set on her head and she is pursued. The consul of New Orleans had placed her in the hands of Armand as Mary Black. Through Armand she enters the home of Mendoza as governess.

The second volume develops the love story of Mary Black and Carlos, the stepson of Mendoza. The lawsuit, still in progress, is kept in the background. The advocate finally enters into a compromise with the city of Mobile. The latter pays to Sarah Walton ten million dollars, of which the advocate gets ten per cent. The identity of Mary Black is revealed. She is married to Carlos and is happy.

The Indian element and a minute description of Western life so frequently introduced in the author's works are notably absent in this novel.

Die alte spanische Urkunde had also appeared in serial form in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of 1872.

A second edition appeared in the second "Abteilung" of *Armand's Ausgewählte Romane*, in 1895-1896.

1872.—*Die Fürstentochter*. Von Armand. Hannover. Carl Rümpler. 3 Bde.

Similar to *Der Sprung vom Niagarafalle*, the author again lets much of the action take place in Europe. The prince of an aristocratic European house falls in love with the Comtesse Laura Olviani. He contracts a marriage with her, which, on account of the inferior position of the Comtesse, is not made public. The prince after ten years becomes faithless and marries a certain princess, whose position permits him to recognize her as his wife. Out of despair the forsaken Comtesse decides to emigrate to America with her little daughter.

The American element enters in the middle of the second volume and is introduced as follows (Vol. II, p. 108): "Von ihrer frühen Jugend an hatte Laura sich für die neue Welt, für Amerika, leidenschaftlich interessiert und hatte die immer zunehmende Auswanderung dorthin mit reger Theilnahme verfolgt." Also (Vol. II, p. 130): "Die in den Zeitungen oft besprochene Auswanderung nach Texas hatte denn auch im Frühjahr lebhaft begonnen, nahm aber im Sommer noch mehr zu, und auf den Hauptstrassen, welche nach den Nordseehäfen führten, begegnete man häufig den hoffnungstrunkenen Wanderern, die leichten Herzens ihrer alten, trauten Heimath den Rücken gekehrt hatten, und jubelnd mit Sack und Pack, Alt und Jung den Schiffen zustrebten, die sie durch das Weltmeer nach dem ihnen vorgespielten Zauberlande tragen sollten."

The author again exploits the literary possibilities of the ocean voyage and draws it out by a vivid shipwreck scene. The

vessel in which the Comtesse Laura and her daughter Castalia and their servants, together with many German emigrants have taken passage, is wrecked off the coast of Texas. A passing vessel takes them to the coast. In the third volume we follow Laura's caravan from Houston to the interior of Texas through many hardships.⁴² The author introduces the Texas Rangers, who were designated to protect the advancing settlers against the attacks of the Indians. Laura and her attendants finally find a suitable place for settlement and live in quiet. Toward the end of the work Laura and her retinue make an expedition to the beautiful Brazos Falls, but are attacked by a war party of Comanche Indians. Later Laura's settlement is washed away by the flooding river and Laura is drowned. Castalia, the "Fürstentochter," is however saved, and marries the son of their former forester, who had also emigrated to Texas, having escaped after assisting in the Revolution at home.

Die Fürstentochter was never republished.

1873.—*Der Methodisten-Geistliche*. Eine Erzählung aus dem amerikanischen Leben von Armand.

It appeared as Vol. III in *Interessante Gestalten*. Bibliothek neuer Romane und Erzählungen. Prag. Verlag d. Bohemia.

This is one of Strubberg's shorter works occupying only 205 pages. The scene of action opens in a little town on the borders of a prairie in the southwestern part of North America. In the text, unlike that of most of his other works, the author has given his scene no definite geographical position, nor does he include much of his usual cultural material. Prompted probably by the nature of the series in which this work appeared, it was Strubberg's object to portray an American character in an interesting story. The author shows an interest in Methodism in various of

⁴² This journey possibly reflects the experience of the German emigrants brought on by the "Adelsverein" in 1844 and 1845.

his works and frequently depicts their forms of worship, though in a somewhat ludicrous manner.⁴⁴

In this novel Methodism, as it prevailed in a frontier town among people whose religion found vent in a sensational emotionalism, forms the background for the life of the Methodist clergyman, who under the guise of winning young ladies as "heavenly brides," has only his own passionate interests at heart. The villainous life of the ignominious Methodist clergyman and his attempts to take advantage of the orphan daughter of the German Willibald von Randorf, who has been reared in the Evangelical Church of Germany, and refuses to submit herself to the ecstasies of Methodism, form the material for an unpleasant and gaudy romance. Cf. the Methodist minister who thwarted Strubberg's nuptials.

At the close of the work is given a very vivid railriding scene (Scheitholzreiten).

Der Methodisten-Geistliche was never republished.

1874.—*Zwei Lebenswege*. Von Armand. Mit vier Illustrationen in Farbendruck und einem Kärtchen. Prag. Druck und Verlag der Bohemia, Actiengesellschaft für Papier- und Druckindustrie. 1 Bd.

Like *Carl Scharnhorst* this book of adventures is more expressly for the young. After the manner carried out in *Saat und Ernte*, the author presents two boys of strongly contrasting natures. Otto Garbauer, son of a former seaman, is a clean, straightforward lad, who is to follow the career of his father.

⁴⁴Cf. *Der Sprung vom Niagarafalle*, Vol. IV, p. 93 f, and *An der Indiangrenze*, Vol. II, p. 108 f (2nd Ed.).

The author himself appears, at least in his later years, to have had a strong religious inclination, a trait which appears again and again in his works. The excessively religious tone of some of his characters is not always pleasing in its effect. Strubberg now and then gave open expression to his religious bent. He claimed (see Appendix) on one occasion to have thrashed the poet Heine, who in his youth is said to have been a visitor at the Strubberg house, for his irreligious views. At the beginning of the eighties he was even on the verge of handing a protest to the Reichstag against several members who were notorious atheists, and had, as he thought, consequently no right to represent the people of a Christian state.

Franz Hagen, son of the village pastor, is treacherous and dishonest. The adventures of these two boys are then related side by side, and the author in a somewhat didactic fashion shows that the ways of the wicked do not go unpunished.

Franz Hagen steals his father's church money, escapes at night with Trompeter Sturz, a low character, who has lived an adventurous life in America, to Bremen, where they board a vessel for America. Otto Garbauer is at the same time placed as an apprentice on the sailing vessel "Mathilda," under Captain Harman. North of Scotland the "Mathilda" is wrecked and only Harman and Otto are saved, having been picked up by a whaler. Strubberg now gives a very vivid account of whale fishing, which is continued for several weeks. The vessel is on its way to Baffin Bay, but is caught in the ice and founders. Harman and Otto effect their escape on the pieces of ice to a waste where nothing greets them but snow and ice. They wander on until a peculiar mound of snow, which seems to show the touch of human hands, confronts them. It is the home of an Esquimau, who greets them kindly. He speaks English, having once accompanied an American polar expedition! Here the two remain to the close of the summer and during the long winter night until the following summer. The author describes very minutely Esquimau life, their clothing, and how to build an ice hut. The wild animals of the North are introduced and carefully described. Otto and the Captain are finally picked up by a whaler on its way to New York.

Franz Hagen and his rascally friend have in the meanwhile led villainous lives in New York as gamblers. Franz becomes a circus rider, later a horse thief, and is finally sentenced to six years in Sing Sing. Both he and Otto later return to their homes in Germany.

This work has little literary value for us. Its wealth of minutely described exotic material, however, commends it as juvenile literature.

A less expensive edition of *Zwei Lebenswege* appeared in the same year.

1875.—*Die geraubten Kinder*. Eine Erzählung aus Texas für die Jugend von Armand. Mit vier Bildern in lithographischem Farbendruck von Professor H. Bürkner. Breslau. Verlag von Eduard Trewendt. 1 Bd.

In this juvenile novel the author is more successful than in *Zwei Lebenswege*. Though not so rich in adventure as *Carl Scharnhorst*, it excels that novel in poetic narrative. Strubberg's simple, pleasing style, with occasional didactic and moralizing traits, makes him an attractive writer for children. The author wastes no time in tracing the careers of his characters before they emigrate to America, as he so often does, but takes us at once to his beloved Texas. ". . . in dem ewig frühlingsgrünen, von den durchsichtigen Wogen des mexikanischen Golfs bespülten, schönes Texas," writes the author, "über dessen unabsehbare, Jahr aus und Jahr ein mit tausendfältigen Blumen geschmückte Prairien, die frische, kühle Seeluft ununterbrochen hinweht und die sengende Gluth der Sonnenstrahlen verscheucht, in dessen krystallklaren, schäumend brausenden Strömen man die Fische bis auf den tiefsten Grund spielen sieht, dessen Riesenurwälder in ihrem Dunkel die prächtigsten Blüthen und die süssesten Früchte zur Schau tragen, und dessen Westen von purpurblauen Gebirgen begrenzt ist, liegt ein Städtchen, welches Friedrichsburg heisst. Friedrichsburg wurde im Anfange der vierziger Jahre von deutschen Einwanderern erbaut und zählte nach wenigen Jahren bereits über tausend Bewohner, trotzdem es noch immer spärlichen Verkehr mit der übrigen Welt hatte. Es liegt hoch in den westlichen Gebirgen; die nächsten Städte, Neu-Braunfels, ungefähr zu gleicher Zeit ebenfalls von Deutschen gegründet, südlich von Friedrichsburg und Austin am Colorado, ostwärts von demselben gelegen, waren über hundert englische Meilen entfernt, und im Norden und Westen breitet sich die Urwildniss aus."

At the extreme west end of Friedrichsburg lived the family Von Bialof. Herr v. Bialof, a Galizian, had been a "Rittmeister" in Austrian service. He was the second son in a noble family and his heritage was consequently a small one, his older brother being according to custom the chief heir. He had married a cer-

tain Gräfin B., and had two children. Seeing that his income was quite too small, he resolved to emigrate to America. "Texas," writes Strubberg (p. 4), "war damals das Land, wohin Tausende von Unzufriedenen und Europamüden ihre sehnächtigen Blicke richteten und auch Bialof wählte es zu seiner neuen Heimat."

Early in the story the two children of Von Bialof, a boy and girl of eight and nine years respectively, are robbed by four Mescalero Indians and brought to their chief, Paringa, who desires to rear the fair children as his own. The parents in company with a tribe of friendly Delawares, under their young chief Youngbear, set out to pursue the Indians and regain their children. The experience of the children, their own remarkable efforts to escape, and their success in concealing themselves from their pursuers, together with the efforts of their parents and the final recovery of their children, furnish the material for this novel.

The courtly behavior of Strubberg's Indians in this work is slightly amusing. The little white girl, Röschen, as she is called, hands the Indian Karkhui some wild strawberries. He replies: "Karkhui macht das scharfe Reiten in der Sonne nicht müde und nicht hungrig, nur weil Du sie mir so freundlich giebst, schmecken sie mir so gut." Paringa, the old Indian chief, lifts her hand, kisses it and says: "Paringa ist immer glücklich, wenn er Dich bei sich hat" (p. 89).

Youngbear exclaims "Gottlob!" rather a strange ejaculation for an Indian.

On page 51 is shown an Indian in the solemn act of sun worship.

The Colonialdirector of Friedrichsburg (Strubberg himself—) is referred to (p. 133). The time of action is therefore about 1847.

The Indian Youngbear, we remember, appears also in the novel *Friedrichsburg*. The Indian name Katensi is probably a perversion of Kateumsi, an Indian name which also appears in *Friedrichsburg*.

The author, it appears, has to some extent drawn on his experiences as Colonialdirector in the colony of Friedrichsburg.

Perhaps mindful of the fact that he is writing a juvenile novel, the author has idealized the Indian rather decidedly and spread a glamor of romance over the whole.

Die geraubten Kinder went through only one edition.

1878.—*Vornehm und Bürgerlich*. Roman aus dem Leben von Armand.

This is the author's last novel. It was never published in book form. It had appeared as a serial in the *Krefelder Zeitung*,⁴⁵ in the year 1878. The work is arranged for publication in three volumes.

It is in a sense a "Tendenz-Roman." As the subject betrays, it takes up German social relations. The author's knowledge of democratic institutions serves him well here in defining the relation between the "sogenannten Vornehme" and the "Bürgerliche." In this, like so many of the author's later novels, the ethnographic material takes up but a small part of the whole.

Through two volumes we follow a gaudy love story. Herr Hochberg, a wealthy aristocrat, falls in love with Helene Walther, an orphan, poor, but wellbred, and having enjoyed a certain amount of culture. It is the old conventional love story. Hochberg is sincere in his passion for Helene, but his social position does not permit him to marry her. It is a blow Helene never quite overcomes. She retires to a little town where, in a democratic spirit, she hopes to earn a livelihood by the labor of her hands. Here she meets a friend of her youth, Franz Haupt, whom she marries.

This work possesses little literary value. The advanced age of the author (Strubberg was seventy-two years old when this

⁴⁵ The following is an excerpt from a letter addressed to me by the editors of the above-mentioned paper:—, . . . In Beantwortung Ihres geehrten Schreibens von gestern erwiedern wir Ihnen, dass der Roman "Vornehm und Bürgerlich" im Feuilleton der "Krefelder Zeitung" vom 1. Oktober bis 7. Dezember, 1878, erschienen ist und z. Zeit sehr grossen Beifall in unserem Leserkreise gefunden hat. . . .

Hochachtungsvoll!

Redaktion d. Krefelder Zeitung.

(Signed) Kramer & Baum.

The serial pages of this work were furnished to the writer by Frau Lenkmann of Kassel.

work appeared) may explain in part the diffuse form of this novel. Many of the incidents upon which important motivations are based are too startling and unnatural to be in good taste. Thus Franz Haupt and Helene have no sooner gotten happily settled in their house than a fire breaks out and their house is burnt to the ground. This motivates their emigration to America. Helene in her reply to her husband's suggestion of migrating replies: "Doch nun höre, dass auch ich fortwährend an Amerika gedacht habe, weil dort das Land ist, wo Arbeit und Fleiss belohnt werden und wo der Arbeitende geehrt und geachtet wird." They take passage on the "Catharine" (Captain Sagemühl) from Bremen to Baltimore.

Hochberg, sick at heart, has in the meanwhile traveled extensively. For a long time he resided in Rome. The author describes a Roman carnival. Hochberg is persuaded by his American friend Carton, while in Rome, to seek solace for his wounded spirit in America. "Amerika," says Carton, "soll Sie schon wieder aufheitern; es hat schon manches wunde deutsche Herz geheilt."⁴⁶ Hochberg sails from Livorno to Baltimore.

At the beginning of the third volume we at last have our chief characters in America. Franz and Helene having been robbed of their small savings remain in Baltimore for some time. Hochberg meets them here, and, suffering from a feeling of having acted unjustly to Helene, gives Franz and Helene financial aid.

Hochberg goes to Niagara Falls (as Strubberg had done on his early trip to America). The author gives a very fine description of that great cataract, which had attracted so many of Europe's romantic spirits.

Toward the close of the work we follow Franz, Helene and child, to St. Louis and thence to the little town of Independance on the Missouri. On arriving they hear of a great caravan about to leave for Santa Fe, New Mexico, whither the gold and silver mines were then attracting many Americans. They resolve to join it. In crossing the prairies, the caravan is attacked and only

⁴⁶ Cf. Beginning of Chapter VII, Vol. III.

Franz and Helene, with their child escape. They return to Independence and then wander on to Cincinnati. In the vicinity of that city they buy land on the Ohio, and convert its hilly slopes, Rhine-like, into huge vineyards; they make wine, prosper, and become a distinguished American family—"Bürgerlich und doch vornehm!"

POEMS.

Upon the close of the novel *In Mexico*, at the end of the fourth volume of the first edition, published by Schmohl und Von Seefeld in Hannover, 1865, follows a handful of poems, *Dichtungen aus den Cordilleren*, which have little genuine merit, but cannot be omitted in a treatment of the author's complete works. The author introduces them with these lines:

"Der Verfasser fügt hier die nachfolgenden Gedichte bei, weil sie aus der Zeit herkommen, wo er in jenen Ländern, den Schauplätzen vorstehenden Werkes lebte. Unter dem frischen, begeisternden Eindruck damaliger Umgebung erstanden, geben sie treue Schilderungen jener Gegenden und Bilder aus dem Leben und den Erlebnissen des Verfassers selbst, und werden als solche seinen verehrten Lesern und Leserinnen nicht unwillkommen sein."

The first poem in the collection, *Treue Liebe*, consisting of eight strophes, contains no local coloring. The poem has a pretty, though rather worn subject: The rose and her lover the wind. Aside from its really musical verses, the poem is interesting on account of its personal note. It is very perceptible that the rose is Strubberg's youthful love and he himself the wind. The duel with the opposing cousin of the young lady in Bremen, upon which Strubberg flees to America is also reflected:

"Da bricht herein der Trennung Weh,
 Sie woll'n in Schmerz vergeh'n:
 Leb' wohl, Du süsse Ros', Ade—
 Auf glücklich Wiedersehn!
 Ein schwarz Gewitter reisst ihn auf
 In fernen, luft'gen Raum,
 Und treibt ihn wirbelnd mit sich fort;
 Hin ist der Frühlingstraum!"

Again, with more apparent reference to himself:

"In eis'gem Sturm, in Sonnengluth
Durchzieht er Land und See,
Bald jauchzt er auf in frohem Muth,
Bald seufzt er hohl und weh:
Ob in der Tropen Wunderland
Manch' schöne Blum' er sieht,
Die Rose, sie vergisst er nie,
Die ihm so hold erblüht."

In his second poem *Der Eissturm in den Cordilleren*, the author has hit upon a happier subject. The raging elements in their most awful and august moments were always a favorite theme of Strubberg. The grandeur of the Cordilleres and the fury of the storm sweeping over them is well described. The poem is written in the familiar meter of Longfellow's "Hiawatha," though in verses of eight accents each. To illustrate:

"In der Auden Riesenkette steigen der Gebirge Massen
Auf in waldbedeckten Höhen, in gewaltigen Terrassen
Thürmen höher sich die Felsen, bis die eisgekrönten Spitzen
Unter'm blauen Äther schwebend, in dem Gold der Sonne blitzen.

.

"Gold und Purpur glüht im Westen über der Gebirge Nacken,
Und in rothem Feuersaume strahlen ihre eis'gen Zacken;
Da erhebt ein schwarz Gewölke plötzlich sich im fernen Norden,
Wächst rasch und Unheil drohend über der Gebirge Borden."

Der Eissturm in den Cordilleren is followed by *Der Prairiebrand*, another favorite subject, and one which the author has rendered in various forms in several of his novels. The poem, in the same meter as the above, gives in seventy-six verses a fine description of this tragedy of the prairies. The author after his fashion introduces himself fleeing before the pursuing flames on his familiar white stallion. Internal evidence leads us to conclude that the poem is a poetic version of that prairie fire so strikingly described in *Amer. Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer*.

The four little *Stimmungsgedichte*: *Der Morgen in der Wildniss*, *Der Mittag in der Wildniss*, *Der Abend in der Wildniss*, and *Die Nacht in der Wildniss*, reflect no additional glory on the poet.

The last poem, *Des Indianer's Rache*, is a poetic version of the episode of the faithless Indian maid Zateka, her Indian lover Utho, and the white criminal Toroney introduced in *Der Sprung vom Niagarafalle*,⁴⁷ which was published in the previous year, 1864. The exposition of the poem is in fifteen strophes of eight verses each. Here again it appears that Strubberg had Longfellow's "Hiawatha" as prototype:

"Vor dem buntgeschmückten Zelte
 Hielt auf weichen Bisonhäuten
 Utho, der Indianerhäuptling,
 In der jungen Liebe Freuden
 Seine reizende Zateka
 Mit dem braunen Arm umwunden,
 Selig träumend, denn er hatte
 Nie zuvor solch Glück empfunden."

In the last third of the poem in which the Indian lover executes revenge upon the Indian maid and his white opponent, the influence of Schiller's *Der Taucher* is very noticeable. In the episode in the novel the maid and her lover are sent over the falls of the Niagara. In the poem no specific locality is stated. The poem closes with these verses:

"Wie das Schiffchen dahinjagt, von Wellen umzischt,—
 Wie die Beiden sich fester umschliessen,—
 Wie sie, fliegend umwehet von sprühendem Gisch,
 In den fluthenden Abgrund jetzt schiessen!—
 Da unten in ewiger, grausiger Nacht
 Ist der Hass und die Liebe zu Grabe gebracht."

It need not be added that Strubberg's sphere was not that of poetry. These poems were not reprinted in the second edition of *In Mexico*, published in 1898.

⁴⁷ Cf. Vol. IV, p. 189. The same names have been employed.

DRAMAS.

Long before Strubberg published his last novel, *Vornehm und Bürgerlich*, a marked deterioration in his works is noticeable; probably this is due in part to his advanced age, in part to the vexations through many years, brought on by the lawsuit of the Hessian agnates against Prussia, which the author as advocate for the Hessian house, led to a successful end.

It is one of the regrettable features in Strubberg's career that he was unable to measure his limitations. Nothing is more pathetic than the author's attempt in his old age to gather fresh laurels as a dramatist. The few dramas before us show his utter failure in this department of literature. They are the only works of the author which appeared under the name of F. A. Strubberg.

In 1882 appeared Strubberg's most pretentious dramatic endeavor: *Gustav Adolf*.⁴⁸ Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen von F. A. Strubberg (Armand). Den Bühnen gegenüber Manuscript. Cassel. Druck von Rich. Trömmel.

Apparently Schiller's *Wallenstein* served as a prototype for *Gustav Adolf*. The play is rich in historical matter, but it is not made an integral part of the dialog. The exposition is managed with little art and evidently only out of the necessity to inform the reader rather than also growing properly out of the work.

Gustav Adolf is portrayed as "der grosse Sieger, der wie ein Rettungsel über Deutschland zog." He has at heart only the restoration of the freedom of faith in Germany. The battle of Breitenfeld crowns "des König's edles Rettungswerk, die Evangel'schen Deutschlands aus der Macht der Jesuiten zu befreien." The author introduces the struggles of the Evangelical Church

⁴⁸The *dramatis personæ* are: Gustav Adolf, König von Schweden; Königin Marie Eleonore; Hofdame Anna Lesslie; Reichskanzler Axel Oxenstjerna; Rittmeister Bitzthum; Graf Thurn; Kanzler Goetze; Obrist Taupodel; Landgraf Wilhelm V. von Hessen; Edelknabe Leuhelfing; Wallenstein; Jesuit Munyeli; Terszky; Führer, Rathsherr zu Nürnberg; Jarski, Botte von Wien; Rathsherrn zu Frankfurt; Herzog Franz Albert von Lauenberg.

Die Scene im ersten Akt in Frankfurt a. M., im zweiten in Prag, im dritten in Frankfurt a. M., im vierten in Nürnberg, im fünften in Erfurt und in Weissenfels.

against Catholicism. The conflict lies between Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein. The latter has little to remind us of Schiller's Wallenstein, but his interests in astrology. Strubberg characterizes Wallenstein with such words as "dunkeler," "geheimnisvoller," or "grauenvoller Mann." Strubberg shows no partiality, but makes him a low designer for the throne of Bohemia. The play closes with a long description of the death of Gustavus Adolphus in the battle of Weissenfels.

The dialog leaves much to be desired. The characters are themselves quite lost in the long verbose passages they are given to say. Strubberg, the narrator, is very present. The play, though written in prose form is so rhythmical that one is dragged along unwillingly. The attempt at rhythm is very evident and often very strained. The affected misplaced pronouns and elided forms are unpardonable.⁴⁹

1883.—*Der Freigeist*.⁵⁰ Schauspiel in drei Aufzügen von F. A. Strubberg (Armand). Den Bühnen gegenüber Manuscript. Druck von Rich. Trömmel in Cassel.

Strubberg's inability to present a well-designed plot is already evident in his novels, where pleasing narrative, wealth of description, and detailed accounts of Indian and American customs and manners make up for this loss in a way. Here, however, all is lacking. In *Der Freigeist* we have not the slightest framework of a drama. The author has taken up the free thought idea, brought on by modern scientific investigations and wishes to show the disasters brought on by one who no longer believes in God. Herr Krantz is, on account of his unbelief, dis-

⁴⁹ The following will serve as illustrations: Oxenstjerna: Sein Sie willkommen uns, Herr Graf. Act I, Sc. 2.

Königin: Geduld?—Mein Gustav, ach zu schwer ward auf die Probe sie gestellt. Denk, bald zwei Jahre bliebst du fern von mir und mit beklomm'nem Herz empfing ich jede Kunde, die über meine ird'sche Seligkeit, den Liebaten meiner Seele, mir Nachricht geben sollte. Act I, Sc. 7.

⁵⁰ The *dramatis personæ* are: Commerzienrath Moritz Krantz, Schreinermeister und Bauunternehmer; Frau Krantz, dessen Frau; Anna Krantz, deren Tochter; Assessor Paul Randorf, Bräutigam der Anna Krantz; Walther, Rentier, Kirchenvorstand; Wolf, Lohgerbermeister; Schraube, Geldmakler; Zabel, Gerichtsvollzieher; Handwerker; Mitglieder der Kirchenge-meinde.

missed together with his family from the church and the social club. The dialog is exceedingly wordy and yet develops no apparent ascending action, turning point, or unravelling. One might say it is a play that moves in a straight line. Herr Krantz, the unbeliever, even enters upon a long discussion with Walther, "der Kirchenvorstand," concerning the latest triumphs of scientific investigation, in which Strubberg puts into Walther's mouth long paragraphs of very poor and unscientific argumentation. Krantz, on account of his disconnections from church and society, fails in business. He finally returns to the church again (one feels it is rather on account of his business than by conviction), and all ends well.

Der Freigeist is a tract rather than a drama. The play occupies 47 pages, and would hardly take more than an hour for performing.

1885.—*Die Quadrone*.⁵¹ Schauspiel in drei Aufzügen, neu für die Bühne bearbeitet von F. A. Strubberg (Armand). Cassel. Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers.

This is the author's most successful dramatic endeavor. It is natural that his best drama should be that in which he employs material with which he was well acquainted. His dialog is vastly superior. Also he has given in *Die Quadrone* real dramatic conflict, rising action, turning point, intense dramatic suspense, and final successful unravelling.

The play is a dramatization of his novelette *Die Quadrone*. Crawford, a poor planter, is financially distressed on account of his poor sandy lands. He has had a daughter by a mulatto slave. The child was, however, taken up by Crawford's legitimate wife and reared as her own daughter. The slave dealer Weston, a

⁵¹ The *dramatis personæ* are: Leonta, Quadrone; Crawford, Vater Leontas, Pflanzer an der Golfküste von Florida; Frau Crawford, dessen Gattin; Anna, deren Tochter; Sam, Crawford's Slave, ein Neger; Lavallée, Plantagenbesitzer in Louisiana; Latone, dessen Slav, eine Negerin; Morin, Colonel genannt, reicher Kapitalist in New Orleans; Weston, Sklavenhändler in New Orleans; ein Geschäftsführer Weston's; Cato, Neger, Bob, Neger, Ben, Mulatte, Weston's Sklaven; Baxtor Scherif; Stockton, Kapitän des Dampfschiffes "Albatross"; Frau Stockton, dessen Gattin; deren Töchterchen; Ort der Handlung: Theils an der Golfküste von Florida, theils in New Orleans.

hard man, visits Crawford and is stricken with the girl's comeliness. Knowing Crawford's financial needs, he tempts him to sell his daughter. Crawford sells Leonta for \$9000. She is by strategy led on board a vessel, where she is seized and put in a cabin. Crawford returns to the house and announces that Leonta has fallen into the water and drowned. Leonta, frantic with despair, wiggles out of the small cabin window into the water, swims to the shore and escapes. The following scene shows Leonta pursued by Weston's hounds; he succeeds in recapturing the "gelbe Hexe" and takes her away. A scene between Crawford and his wife follows, in which the latter impresses the enormity of his crime upon her husband. Crawford is conscience-stricken and attempts to buy Leonta back.

In the second act Leonta is taken to the house of the slave-dealer Weston. Here a beautiful gown is placed on Leonta, and she is put on sale. Morin, a mean speculator, having heard of the famous beauty advertised by Weston, calls on him and desires to purchase Leonta, only thinks Weston's price of \$20,000 too high. He leaves to return the following day, having asked to remain first bidder. Lavallée, a rich and philanthropic planter from Louisiana, enters and purchases Leonta, simply to save her from the immoral Morin. He had once before bought a slave for the same reason. Morin enters furious. A fracas ensues between Lavallée and Morin, in which the latter falls. Lavallée furnishes Leonta with a pleasant house and treats her with respect and courtesy. He has fallen madly in love with her. Though she is in reality his possession, his sense of honor does not permit him to take advantage of her. Leonta hides her own love for him. Lavallée, in despair of winning her love, determines to leave her, not, however, before restoring her freedom and giving her financial securities. Leonta, however, refuses to leave him and destroys the paper that gives her her freedom. She reveals her love. Lavallée is enraptured, resolves to marry Leonta and forsake a country in which he cannot possess a quadroon wife without being despised.

In the third act Crawford, Leonta's father, enters with a bag of gold, and Judas-like begs Lavallée to accept this sinful

money in return for the quadroom, his own child. Lavallée informs Crawford that Leonta is free and no one has any power over her. Crawford is stricken with the thought that Leonta has chosen to be Lavallée's mistress. Lavallée then makes known his intentions of taking Leonta to Switzerland as his wife. The money for which Leonta was sold is to be given to the poor. The play ends with the departure of Lavallée and Leonta for Switzerland.

1886.—*Leben und Tod des Kaisers Friedrich Barbarossa*.⁵²
Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen von F. A. Strubberg (Armand). Hanau. Druck der I. G. Kittsteiner'schen Buchdruckerei.

The subject for this last work was probably suggested to the aged author by the beautiful red sandstone ruins of the imperial palace, erected by Barbarossa on the little island of the Kinzig in Gelnhausen, whither Strubberg had retired in his last years, and where he died. The play, though pleasing in its endeavors, bears abundant traces of the author's mistaken faith in his dramatic powers.⁵³

The first act takes place partly in a wood near Gelnhausen, partly on the little island in the Kinzig. Redbeard, while on the hunt, is lost in a grove. In his endeavors to find his way, he comes upon Gela, a beautiful peasant girl, asleep under a tree. Redbeard falls in love with Gela, accompanies her, and finds shelter for the night in her humble cottage. Redbeard then leaves her for a short time, as he says. We are reminded strongly of Egmont and Clärchen. Strange to say Redbeard never returns to Gela, who

⁵² The *dramatis personæ* are: Kaiser Friedrich der Erste, Barbarossa; Gela; Kaiserin Beatrice; Ritter Grempe von Freudenstein; Ritter von Sieben-eichen; Ritter von Boyneburg; Pfalzgraf Otto von Wittelsbach; Kanzler Rainald; Erzbischof Hartwich von Regensburg; Erzbischof Christian von Mainz; die Kardinäle Roland, Bernhard und Bernarda; Götting Germania. Die Aufzüge beginnen: Erster Aufzug im Jahre 1154. Zweiter Aufzug im Jahre 1156. Dritter Aufzug im Jahre 1174. Vierter Aufzug im Jahre 1180.

⁵³ Herr Franz Berck of Gelnhausen told the writer that Strubberg while engaged on this his last work, anticipating a great success, exclaimed: "Was wird das aber ein Radau machen!"

now disappears and never enters the play again. She seems to have been introduced for no other purpose than to motivate Redbeard's building of the castle on the island where Gela's hut stood.

The play, without much consistency of plot or well-operated conflict, sets forth Barbarossa's difficulties with Herzog von Braunschweig (Heinrich der Loewe) and Herzog von Babenberg. To appease them Redbeard gave Bavaria to Heinrich der Loewe and the Duchy of Austria to Babenberg. Through Bavaria Heinrich became so powerful that he plotted against Redbeard for the imperial crown and thus endeavored to frustrate Redbeard's attempt to unify Germany.

Friedrich Barbarossa had failed to create a permanently united Germany. The author now makes use of the Kyffhäuser legend. Scene 3 of Act IV shows us a vault underneath the Kyffhäuser Burg. In the middle of the vault sits Kaiser Friedrich "vor einem steinernen Tische, mit der goldenen Krone auf dem Haupt und dem Kaisermantel um seine Schultern, in einem vergoldeten Sessel von rothem Sammt. . . während sein rother Bart bis auf die Erde herabhängt. Da tritt die deutsche Göttin Germania von der rechten Seite langsam und feierlich auf die Bühne und bleibt vor Barbarossa stehen. . . ."

We are reminded of Clärchen's transfiguration at the close of Goethe's *Egmont*. Now that Barbarossa's united Germany has at last come to realization under Wilhelm I, Barbarossa's redemption is at hand. Germania says to him: "Die Erlösungszeit für Dich ist nun gekommen, der deutsche Kaiserthron ist für die Ewigkeit erbaut mit einer eisenfesten Stütze, stark genug, um eine Welt aus ihren Angeln zu heben." An angel appears and lays a laurel wreath upon his head. Barbarossa lifts his hands, then closes his eyes and sinks into his seat, his arms falling powerless by his side. Barbarossa's long watch is at an end.

An early comedy by Strubberg, *Der Mann ohne Poesie*, only in manuscript, is preserved in the library of the Royal Theatre in Cassel, under the *nom de plume* of Norwald. It was performed once in the Royal Theatre in 1869.



STRUBBERG'S RESIDENCE IN GRLNHAUSEN

APPENDIX.

1. A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE EDITIONS OF STRUBBERG'S WORKS.

- 1858.—*Amerikanische Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer aus meinem Leben in den westlichen Indianergebieten*. Mit 24 vom Verfasser nach der Natur entworfenen Skizzen (Holzschn.). Stuttgart, 1858. Cotta. gr. 8. (VI, 460 S.)
2. durchges. Aufl. gr. 8. (VI, 376 S.) Stuttgart, 1876. Cotta.
3. Aufl. gr. 8. (IV, 505 S. m. 1 Farbenbild u. 10 Tondr.-Bildern.) Stuttgart, 1892. Union.
4. Aufl. Mit 1 Farbenbild u. 16 Tondr.-Bildern. gr. 8. (IV, 505 S.) Stuttgart, 1901. Union.
- 1858.—*Bis in die Wildniss*. 4 Bde. Breslau, 1858. E. Trewendt. 8. (4 Bl., 312; 3 Bl., 343; 3 Bl., 266; 3 Bl., 264 S.)
2. Aufl. Breslau, 1863. Trewendt. 8. (XXVI, 1140 S.)
- 1859.—*An der Indianergrenze, oder Treuer Liebe Lohn*. 4 Bde. Hannover, 1859. C. Rümpler. 8. (XXIV, 1092 S.)
2. Ausg. in *Armand's ausgewählte Romane*. 1. Abtlg. 8. (1. Bd. 408 S. u. 2. Bd. 384 S.) Weimar, 1894. Schriftenvertriebsanstalt.
- 1859.—*Alte und neue Heimath*. Breslau, 1859. E. Trewendt. 8. (VII, 360 S.)
- 1859.—*Scenen aus den Kämpfen der Mexikaner und Nordamerikaner*. Breslau. E. Trewendt. 8. (287 S.)
- 1860.—*Ralph Norwood*. 5 Bde. Hannover. C. Rümpler. 8. (XXXVI, 1402 S. u. lith. Portr.)
- 1862.—*Sclaverei in Amerika oder schwarzes Blut*. 3 Bde. Hannover. C. Rümpler. 8. (VIII, 865 S.)
- [This work, a trilogy on the negro slave, consists of the three novels, *Die Quadrone*, *Die Mulattin*, and *Die Negerin*.]
2. Ausg. d. *Quadrone* in *Armand's ausgewählte Romane*. 2. Abtlg. 2. Bd. (79 S.) Berlin, 1895-1896. Schriftenvertriebsanstalt.
2. Ausg. d. *Mulattin*. 8. (224 S.) Berlin, 1897. Schriftenvertriebsanstalt.
- 1863.—*Carl Scharnhorst. Abenteuer eines deutschen Knaben in Amerika*. Mit 6 Bildern in Farbendr. nach Zeichnungen von Aug. Hengst. Hannover. C. Rümpler. 8. (VI, 318 S.)
2. Aufl. Mit 8 Illustr. (Holzschn.) nach Zeichngn. v. E. Förster. gr. 8. (IV, 312 S.) Hannover. C. Rümpler. 1872.
- Dasselbe. *Volksausgabe*. gr. 8. (IV, 259 S. m. Holzschn. Taf. Ebend. 1872.

3. Aufl. Mit 6 Farbendr.-Bildern nach Aquarellen v. Offterdinger. (IV, 268 S.) Kassel, 1887.
5. Aufl. M. 6 Buntbild. v. Offterdinger, u. 5 Holzschn. v. Ch. Förster. gr. 8. (272 S.) Leipzig, 1898. Abel u. Müller.
- 6.-8. Aufl. Mit 6 Buntbildern v. Offterdinger u. 5 Holzschn. v. Ch. Förster. gr. 8. (272 S.) Leipzig, 1900-1902. Abel u. Müller.
10. Aufl. Mit 6 Buntbildern v. Offterdinger, u. 4 Holzschn. v. Ch. Förster (272 S.) gr. 8. Leipzig, 1905. Abel u. Müller.
- 1864.—*Der Sprung vom Niagarafalle*. 4 Bde. Hannover. Schmorl und v. Seefeld. 8. (XXIV, 1117 S.)
- 1865.—*In Mexiko*. 4 Bde. Hannover. 8. (XVI, 1013 S.)
 2. Ausg. 8. (341 S.) Berlin, 1898. Schriftenvertriebsanstalt.
- 1866.—*Saat und Ernte*. In *Album. Bibliothek deutscher Original-Romane*. Bde. 9-13. 21. Jahrgang. (934 S.)
- 1867.—*Aus Armand's Frontierleben*. 3 Bde.
 2. Ausg. Hannover, 1868. C. Rümpler. 8. (XXIV, 753 S.)
- 1867.—*Friedrichsburg, die Colonie des deutschen Fürsten-Vereins in Texas*. 2 Bde. Leipzig. F. Fleischer. 8. (XVII, 469 S.)
- 1868.—*In Süd-Carolina und auf dem Schlachtfelde von Langensalz*. 4 Bde. Hannover. C. Rümpler. 8. (12 Bll., 911 S.)
- 1869.—*Der Mann ohne Poesie*. Ein Lustspiel.
 [The ms. of this unpublished play is to be found in the Library of the Royal Theatre in Kassel, under the pen-name of Norwald.]
- 1870.—*Der Krösus von Philadelphia*. 4 Bde. Hannover. C. Rümpler. 8. (1070 S.)
 2. Ausg. in *Armand's ausgewählte Romane*. 3. Abtlg. 2 Bde. (351 u. 326 S.) Weimar, 1895. Verlag der Schriftenvertriebsanstalt.
- 1872.—*Die Fürstentochter*. 3 Bde. 8. (249, 212 u. 203 S.) Hannover. C. Rümpler.
- 1872.—*Die alte spanische Urkunde*. 2 Bde. 8. (275 u. 258 S.) Hannover. C. Rümpler.
 2. Ausg. in *Armand's ausgewählte Romane*. 2. Abtlg. 2 Bde. (171 u. 165 S.) Berlin, 1895-1896. Schriftenvertriebsanstalt.
- 1873.—*Der Methodisten-Geistliche. Eine Erzählung aus dem amerikanischen Leben*. In *Interessante Gestalten. Bibliothek neuer Romane und Erzählungen*. Bd. 3. Prag.
- 1874.—*Zwei Lebenswege*. Mit 4 Illustr. in Farbendr. u. Kärtchen (Holzschn.) 8. (236 S.) Prag. Verlag der Bohemia.
Wohlfeile Ausg. 8. (236 S.) Ebd. 1874.

- 1875.—*Die geraubten Kinder. Eine Erzählung aus Texas für die Jugend.* Mit 4 Bildern in lith. Farbendr. v. H. Bürkner. 8. (IV, 294 S.) Breslau. E. Trewendt.
- 1878.—*Vornehm und Bürgerlich.* [Vom 1. Oktober bis 7. Dezember im Feuilleton der Krefelder Zeitung erschienen.]
- 1882.—*Gustav Adolf.* Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Kassel. Druck von Richard Trömmel.
- 1883.—*Der Freigeist.* Schauspiel in 3 Aufzügen. gr. 8. (47 S.) Kassel. (Hühn.)
- 1885.—*Die Quadron.* Schauspiel in 3 Aufzügen, neu für die Bühne bearbeitet. gr. 8. (76 S.) Kassel. (Kessler.)
- 1886.—*Leben und Tod des Kaisers Friedrich Barbarossa.* Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen. Hanau. Druck der I. G. Kittsteiner'schen Buckdruckerei.

2. LETTERS.

[These letters are in the possession of a cousin of the author, Herr Julius Thorbecke, of Firma Thorbecke, Mannheim.]

Gelnhausen, den 8. April 1887.

Verehrter lieber Herr Vetter!

Ihr so sehr freundliches Entgegenkommen auf meinen Ihnen ausgesprochenen Wunsch hat mich offen und ehrlich gestanden in dieser Zeit der Selbstsucht und des Eigenutzes recht freudig berührt und spreche ich Ihnen meinen aufrichtigsten Dank für die mir dadurch gemachte Freude aus.

Die Erfüllung meiner Bitte war schon durch die gütige Übersendung der Cigaretten vollständig vollzogen und hat die Zahlung dafür gar nichts mehr mit der Erfüllung meiner Bitte zu thun, weshalb ich Sie nochmals mit den Ersuchen belästigen muss mir den Preis für die übersandte Waare anzugeben damit ich Ihnen den Betrag mit meinem besten Danke übermachen kann. Zu gleicher Zeit bitte ich Sie nochmals mir von einigen Ihren besten Cigaretten von *wirklichen* türkischen Tabak zu übersenden, damit ich zwischen durch auch etwas ganz gutes zu rauchen habe. Dagegen hoffe ich, dass es in meiner Macht steht Ihnen die erwünschte Auskünfte über unsere Familien zu geben, die mit meinem Tode sonst in keines Menschen Besitz mehr sein würden. Dabei kann ich wohl behaupten, dass nur wenige Familien existieren an welche sich so höchst interessante Nachrichten knüpfen wie an die unserigen. Dahin gehören unsere nahen Verwandtschafts-Verhältnisse zu dem hessischen Fürstenhause, indem der Vater unserer Urgrossmutter der geborenen Gräfin Wilmsdorf-Brevendorf, der Landgraf Friedrich I. von Hessen spätere König von Schweden war. Darum wandten sich die kurhessischen Agnaten der jüngere Linie von Hessen Philipsthal an mich um ihre Rechte an ihren Familien-Fideikommiss im Wer-

the von cr. 100 Millionen Thaler gegen die preussische Wegnahme in 1866 zu verteidigen. Ich zählte damals zu einen der ersten Ärzte Amerikas, war aber nie in meinem Leben Jurist gewesen. Trotz dieser Einwendung liessen die Agnaten nicht davon ab, mich mit ihren Bitten zu bestürmen, ihre Rechte gegen Preussen zu verteidigen, worauf ich endlich mich der schwierigen Aufgabe unterzog und während vierzehn Jahren den Prozess für dieselben ohne irgend welchen Rechtsbeistand gegen Preussen führte bis im Jahre 1881 Preussen die Angelegenheit durch einen Vergleich zu Ende brachte. Ich habe aber nicht nur die Nachweise über solche Beziehungen in meinen Händen, ich habe aber auch sehr wertvolle treue, seit Jahrhunderten in unserer Familie aufbewahrte Ölbilder in meinem Besitz, welche die Repräsentanten unserer beiden Familien in eisernen Rüstungen, in gepuderten Lockenperrücken, in goldgestickter zinoberroter Gallakleidung u. s. w. darstellen, und welche bei Nachforschungen über Familiengeschichten von sehr grossem Werte sind. Ich glaube, dass es in vorliegenden Fällen für Sie vom aller grössten Interesse sein würde, wenn Sie die wenigen Meilen zu fahren nicht scheuen wollen, um mich hier zu besuchen und die Nachweise über unsere Familien von mir persönlich entgegen zu nehmen. Für diesen Fall bitte ich, mich von Ihrem Beschluss zu benachrichtigen, damit ich alles zu Ihrer Instruktion Nötige in Bereitschaft zu halten im Stande bin. Sie sind ohne Zweifel ein Nachkomme von meinem Vetter August Thorbecke, welcher in Sachsen-Meinungen eine Tabakfabrik besass und mir persönlich befreundet war.

Indem ich meine Bitte noch einmal wiederhole, mir den Betrag meiner Schuld an Sie anzugeben und mir gelegentlich einige kleine Proben von Ihren besten Cigaretten zu übersenden grüsse ich Sie mit aufrichtig verwandschaftlichen Gefühlen als,

Ihr treuer Vetter,

F. A. Strubberg.
(Schriftsteller Armand.)

Ps. Landgraf Friedrich I. von Hessen geb. den 28. April 1676 vermählt mit Prinzess von Brandenburg, dieselbe starb 1705. Landgraf wieder (morganatisch) verehelicht mit der Witwe des holländischen Generals Wilmsdorf-Brevendorf 1717, diese Ehe aufgelöst im Jahre 1720 wo der Landgraf sich mit der Königin von Schweden vermählte und selbst den schwedischen Thron bestieg. Aus der Ehe des Landgrafen mit der Witwe des Generals von Wilmsdorf entsprang eine Tochter, Anna Amalie (die schöne genannt). Diese Tochter des Landgrafen verheiratete sich mit dem Domänenrat zu Cleve Chr. Heinrich Strubberg im Jahre 1741. Dieser Domänenrat Chr. Heinrich Strubberg war der jüngste Sohn des zu Berglohe geborenen Johann Rudolph Strubberg, welcher als Untertan in Rheinberg bei Minden, den 25. April 1736, starb. Ich bemerke Ihnen, dass ich in den Familiennachrichten aus Osnabrück, welche ich Ihnen gleichfalls zur Ansicht beilege, mit Rotstift mehrere Andeu-

tungen geschrieben habe, unter welchen die auf vorletzter Seite gemachten Zeichen auch die Familie Thorbecke speziell berührt, was Ihnen vielleicht von Interesse sein kann. Wenn ich mich recht entsinne, so haben Sie mir früher auch einmal sich über Nachrichten über den Kommerzienrat Strubberg bei mir befragt und wenn dem so ist, so will ich Ihnen bemerken, dass dieser Kommerzienrat Strubberg der Vater von Ihrer Grossmutter war, welchen Sie auch in dem Stammbaum aufgeführt finden. Sollten Sie nach Durchsicht der beifolgenden Urkunde vielleicht noch Fragen an mich zu stellen haben, so bitte ich, nur dieses zu tun und werde ich nach besten Kräften Ihre Fragen beantworten.

Für heute will ich diesen Bericht schliessen und nun nochmals meine herzlichsten Grüsse an Sie und an die lieben Ihrigen hinzufügen.

Mit treu verwandschaftlichen. [Gefühlen und aufrichtiger Hochschätzung sehe ich Ihren freundlichen.] Nachrichten weiter entgegen und bleibe.

Mit aufrichtiger Freundschaft,

Ihr treuer Vetter,

F. A. Strubberg.

—
Gelnhausen, den 27. August 1887.

Mein geliebter geehrter Vetter!

Vergebens habe ich nun seit längerer Zeit auf ein Lebenszeichen von Ihnen gehofft und namentlich versprochenemassen Ihrem persönlichen Erscheinen bei mir entgegen gesehen. In beiden Hoffnungen bin ich aber getäuscht worden und wenn mich nicht mein hohes Alter und eine sehr ernste Krankheit zurückgehalten hätte, so würde ich schon längst bei Ihnen gewesen sein, um Sie persönlich kennen zu lernen. Da ich nun selbst nicht kommen kann, so sende ich Ihnen inliegend ein Bild von mir, welches vor vier Jahren vor meiner Krankheit gemacht ist und auf welchem mein Barthaar noch schwarz erscheint, während jetzt nach dem langen schweren Leiden, welches ich während meiner Krankheit getragen habe, mein Barthaar den Schnee des Winters angenommen hat, wobei aber das Herz jung geblieben ist. Mit einem Alter von 81 Jahren und mit einer bewegten ungewöhnlichen Vergangenheit wie die meinige aber, habe ich keine Ursache zur Klage und wenn mich der Himmel nur vor zu grossen Schmerzen bewahrt, so bin ich schon zufrieden. Nun aber möchte ich doch vor meinem Scheiden aus der Welt, Sie lieben Vetter, als einen meiner nächsten Verwandten persönlich kennen lernen, zumal, da Ihr seeliger Herr Vater mir recht befreundet war, wie dieses nun am besten geschehen kann, bin ich nicht im Stande zu beurteilen, und muss dies Ihrem Ermessen allein überlassen, wozu ich Sie mit aufrichtiger Innigkeit bitte, bei mir abzusteigen und bei mir zu wohnen, so lange es Ihnen bei mir gefällt. Wir haben sehr viele Familien-Angelegenheiten miteinander zu bereden, wozu ich

vieles Material in Händen habe, ich Besitze auch unter anderem sehr schöne Bilder von Ihrer Grossmutter, sowie von Ihrer Grosstante und Grossonkel, die Sie sehr interessiren werden und die ich Ihnen, wenn Sie es wünschen, als Familien-Kleinodien gerne zum Andenken verehren würde. Andere Bilder von grossem Familienwerte, weder ich meinem Vetter, Seiner Excellenz dem General Otto von Strubberg in Berlin, nach meinem Tode überlassen. Da er nach mir, unser Familienhaupt sein wird. Unter diesen Bildern befindet sich auch unser ältester Ahnherr, der Landgraf Friedrich I. von Hessen, sowie dessen Tochter, die schöne Amalie, welche morganatisch mit einer Gräfin Wilms-Dorf verheiratet war und welche sich mit einem Strubberg verehelichte. Ich bitte nun, mich baldigst wissen zu lassen, ob Sie mich mit Ihrer Bekanntschaft erfreuen wollen und mir die Zeit zu nennen, zu welcher Sie mir diese Freude bereiten wollen. In dieser Hoffnung, die gewünschte Nachricht von Ihnen recht bald zu erhalten bleibe ich, mit den herzlichsten Verwandtschaftsgefühlen mein lieber Vetter,

Ihr aufrichtig ergebener,

F. A. Strubberg.

Ps.—Tonnies Strubberg geb. zu Borglohe im Stifte Osnabrück in der Mitte der Jahre 1500.

Johann Rudolph Strubberg geb. 1654 zu Borglohe, gest. den 25. April 1736 zu Drehtlee bei Lübbecke, Amtmann des Amtes Rheineberg bei Minden, dessen Frau Anna Eliesabeth Hedwig Strubberg geb. 1666, gest. den 24. Juni 1746 zu Lingen. Landgraf Friedrich I. von Hessen vermählte sich in morganatischer Ehe im Jahre 1703, während des spanischen Erbfolgekrieges in Holland, mit der Witwe des in der Schlacht bei Hochstadt gebliebenen Generals Grafen Wilmsdorff-Brevendorf.

Aus dieser Ehe war eine Tochter, die sogenannte schöne Anna Amalie, erstanden, welche sich mit dem Königl. Domänenrat Christian Heinrich Strubberg verheirathete, aus welcher Ehe der älteste Sohn Friedrich Rudolph Strubberg, Kommerzienrat in Emmerich, entsprang. Christian Heinrich Strubberg, geb. den 28. Juni 1710, gest. 1795, als Königl. Domänenrat, dessen Frau Anna Amalie Strubberg, geborene Gräfin von Wilmsdorff-Brevendorf, die Tochter des Landgrafen Friedrich I. und der Witwe des Generals Grafen Wilmsdorff-Brevendorf, geborene von Michgarius.

Aus der Ehe des Domänenrats Christian Heinrich Strubberg entsprang der älteste Sohn Friedrich Rudolf, geb. den 9. März 1742, gest. den 31. Oktober 1824, als Kommerzienrat in Emmerich, dessen Frau war eine geborene Emilie Cordesse.

Aus dieser Ehe entsprang der älteste Sohn der Tabakfabrikant in Kassel, Heinrich Friedrich Strubberg, geb. den 6. September 1762, gest. den 14. März 1843.

Das zweite Kind, eine Tochter, aus der Ehe, Anna Elisabeth, heiratete Andreas Heinrich Thorbecke.

Weitere Kinder aus dieser Ehe waren Jakob Strubberg, geb. den 5. August 1730, gest. zu Lübbecke, den 27. Juni 1816, Hauptmann in preussischem Dienste, Adelaide verheiratet mit einem Herrn Clignett, Lambert gest. in der holländischen Colonie Temerarie, Wilhelmine gest. und verhehlicht zu Cassel.

Gelnhausen, den 12. November 1887.

Mein verehrter lieber Vetter!

Da bin ich nun wieder eine lange Zeit mit Ihren vortrefflichen Cigaretten versehen, doch leider fehlt mir noch Ihre Rechnung darüber, wodurch Sie mich abermals in Verlegenheit setzen. Die Probe-Cigaretten, die Sie beigelegt haben, sind wirklich etwas ganz ausgezeichnetes und werde ich Sonntags und wenn ich bei guter Laune bin, mich an denselben laben und Ihrer dabei mit vetterlicher Liebe freundlich gedenken. Nun fehlt mir aber noch immer eine briefliche Nachricht von Ihnen auf die ich mit Spannung warte, um zu erfahren, ob meine Mitteilungen über unsere Familien-Angelegenheiten Ihnen von einigem Nutzen gewesen sind. Sollten Sie noch in irgend einer Weise eine Ergänzung davon wünschen, so bitte ich, mich die Punkte wissen zu lassen, worauf sich dieser Ihr Wunsch bezieht. Ich bitte auch, in Ihrem nächsten Schreiben mich gefl. wissen zu lassen, ob Ihnen an dem Besitz der drei Bilder, welche Sie bei mir sahen, etwas gelegen sind, damit ich Ihnen dieselben wohl verpackt zusenden kann. Ich meine nämlich: Die drei Bilder von Ihrer Grossmutter Elisabeth, deren Schwester Mimmi und deren Bruder, meinem seligen Vater als Jüngling. Das Bild meines seligen Vaters als Jüngling hat für mich kein besonderes Interesse, aber namentlich nicht, für meine demnächsten Erben, weil ich ein so vortreffliches Ölbild von ihm in seinem kräftigen Mannesalter besitze.

Lassen Sie mich recht bald etwas von Ihnen hören, empfehlen Sie mich Ihrem Herrn Bruder recht herzlich und seien Sie mit vetterlicher Liebe begrüsst von Ihrem ergebenen Vetter

F. A. Strubberg.

Gelnhausen, den 21. November 1887.

Geehrter lieber Herr Vetter!

Herzlichen Dank für Ihre lieben Zeilen vom 17. ds. Mts. Es hat mich gefreut, von Ihnen zu hören, dass Ihnen der Besitz der drei Familienbilder erfreulich ist und bemerke ich Ihnen, dass Sie ganz recht hatten, wenn Sie die eine Dame mit den Perlen im Haar als Ihre Grossmutter, die Schwester meines Vaters erraten haben.

Was die Ihnen noch fehlenden Daten an dem Stammbaum betrifft, so wäre es gut, wenn Sie mir bald die Fragen darüber stellten,

indem ich in hohem Alter stehe und sehr leidend bin. Bei dieser Gelegenheit, will ich mir noch erlauben, Sie um Beantwortung einer Frage zu ersuchen, wodurch Sie mich sehr verbinden werden.

In der Zeit, in welcher ich in dem Prozesse der hessischen Agnaten für die Prinzen tätig war, war ich genötigt, zwei sehr bedeutende, grosse Ölbilder mit grossem Kostenaufwand an mich zu bringen, deren Besitz mir nach Beendigung des Prozesses von keinem Wert mehr war. Das eine ist in ächter Correggio, das andere, von dem jetzt bedeutendsten Maler Mentzlei in München, gleichfalls eine Perle und weiss ich nicht, ob ich Ihnen bei Ihrem Hiersein diese beiden Bilder sehen liess.

Ich wünsche nun vor meinem Ende, über diese beiden Bilder zu verfügen und würde ich, wenn unsere lieben Verwandten Artaria noch existirten sehr bald diesen meinen Wunsch erfüllt sehen. Da dieses nun aber nicht der Fall ist, so fragen Sie lieber Herr Vetter, welche Kunsthandlung in die Stelle der Artaria getreten ist, damit ich mich an dieselbe zur Erfüllung meines Wunsches wenden kann. Können Sie mir in dieser Angelegenheit eine Auskunft erteilen, so werden Sie mich dadurch recht zu Dank verpflichten. Ihrer gütigen Antwort entgegensehend, bleibe ich mit aufrichtiger Verehrung

Ihr treu ergebener Vetter

F. A. Strubberg.

Gelnhausen, den 26. November 1887.

Verehrter lieber Herr Vetter!

Besten Dank für Ihre gutigen Zeilen vom 24. ds. Mts. Was unseren Stammbaum anbetrifft, so werde ich ihn morgen noch einmal durchgehen und Ihnen denselben dann nebst meinen Bemerkungen zur Durchsicht übersenden. Was nun meine Frage über die Familie Artaria anbetrifft, so hatte dieselbe folgendes Interesse für mich. Ich weiss nicht, ob es Ihnen bekannt geworden ist, dass ich in dem Prozesse der hessischen Agnaten gegen den preussischen Phiskus tätig gewesen bin, in welchen Arbeiten es damals von Wichtigkeit war, einige sehr wertvolle Ölbilder in meinen Besitz zu bekommen, was mir auch gelang. Das eine der Bilder repräsentiert die Jo im Bade mit Jupiter als Wolke von Correggio ein sehr wertvolles Bild. Das andere Bild: Die erwachende Liebe als eine Venus mit Amor spielend, von dem jetzt in München lebenden Meister Herrn Mentzlei, einem der ersten dortigen Maler. Beide Bilder sind sehr wertvoll, doch habe ich seit Beendigung des Prozesses kein Interesse mehr an dem Besitz derselben, und wünsche, sie an eine würdige Kunsthandlung zu verkaufen. Während meiner Tätigkeit in jenem Prozesse erinnere ich mich, dass ein Karl Fr. Fleischer in Leipzig sehr viel mit unseren Freunden Artaria arbeitete, wer aber das Geschäft derselben übernommen hat, ist mir nicht bekannt. Ich

erinnere mich nicht, ob ich Ihnen bei Ihrem lieben Besuche, hier, die beiden Bilder gezeigt habe oder nicht.

Morgen also gehe ich an die Revision des Stammbaumes, und schicke Ihnen denselben dann ein. Mit meinen herzlichsten Grüßen an Sie und Ihren lieben Bruder, sowie unbekannter Weise an Ihre Frau Gemahlin bleibe ich

Mit aufrichtigster Freundschaft

Ihr treu ergebener

F. A. Strubberg.

Gelnhausen, den 3. Dezember 1887.

Verehrter lieber Herr Vetter!

Soeben empfing ich Ihre lieben Zeilen vom 1. ds. Mts. und sage Ihnen meinen besten Dank dafür.

Dass das Osnabrücker Heft für Sie ein grosses Interesse hat, habe ich bei dem erblicken Ihres Namens bemerkt, doch ein eben-sogrosses Interesse hat dasselbe für Strubberg, indem in demselben die Heirat eines Strubberg mit der Anna Amalie, Gräfin von Wilmsdorf ausdrücklich geschrieben steht, und diese Amalie, die sogenannte schöne Amalie, die Tochter der Witwe des Generals Grafen von Wilmsdorf-Brevendorf ist, welche in morganatischer Ehe mit dem Landgrafen Friedrich I. von Hessen verheiratet war. Diese schöne Amalie, Gräfin von Wilmsdorf-Brevendorf verlebte ihr Alter bei dem Vater von Ihrer Grossmutter des Kommerzienrats Strubberg und hiess in der Familie die Oje-Prinzess, von welcher eine Menge Juwelen mit hessischen Emblemen der Familie Strubberg hinterliess und von welchen meine Schwester noch eine grosse Zahl besessen hat. Die Kinder des Kommerzienrats Strubberg wurden regelmässig am Sonntagmorgen zu der alten Prinzessin geführt und bei ihr zum Handkuss zugelassen. Die beiden schönen Ölbilder der Amalie, welche Sie bei mir gesehen haben, sind ein paar Meisterwerke erster Art. Was nun das Heftchen von Osnabrück betrifft, so werde ich Ihnen dasselbe, wie Sie es wünschen vermachen, während ich dasselbe bis zu meinem Ende selbst in meinem Besitz behalten werde. Wegen der beiden Bilder, die Sie auch bei mir sahen, und welche sich nur für eine Gallerie eignen, werde ich Ihnen recht dankbar sein, wenn Sie mir einen Kunsthändler zusenden wollten, weil ich dieselben noch vor meinem Tode verkaufen will.

Sie sagen, Sie kennen leider die Berliner nicht von denen ich gesprochen hätte, ich erinnere mich aber dieser Unterhaltung nicht und bitte sie, mir weiteres darüber zu sagen.

Ihren weiteren Mitteilungen gerne entgegendehend, bleibe ich mit herzlichen Grüßen,

Ihr treuer aufrichtiger Vetter

F. A. Strubberg.

3. TWO EPISODES.

[The following narrative is taken from W. Bennecke's article *Aus Armand's Leben* in Nrs. 9 and 10 of *Hessenland*, Kassel, May, 1889. It speaks of Strubberg's relations with Louis Napoleon and with the poet Heine. His relations with the latter are to the knowledge of the writer to be found in no Heine literature and may therefore be of special interest.]

"Ich lernte Armand im Jahre 1866 kennen und der erste Abend, welchen ich mit ihm in einer Theegesellschaft verbrachte, wird mir unvergesslich sein, da er bei vortrefflicher Laune war und seinem Erzählertalent die Zügel schiessen liess. Er sprach, wie man zu sagen pflegt, frei von der Leber, seine Rede mit lebhaftem Mienenspiel und Gestikulationen begleitend, dabei die ungeheuerlichsten Begebenheiten mit der grössten Kaltblütigkeit bis ins Detail ausmalend. Es war trotzdem aber ein Vergnügen, ihm zuzuhören, denn der Zweifel, der hin und wieder an der Thatsächlichkeit des Mitgetheilten auftauchen konnte, kam bei der virtuoson Manier, mit welcher Armand seine Erzählungen zur Geltung brachte, nur wenig in Betracht. "Mit Louis Napoleon," so erzählte er u. A., "war ich eng befreundet, er liebte mich, obgleich ich ihn in Amerika einmal als Schnellläufer geschlagen hatte. Als ich in den fünfziger Jahren auf meiner Reise nach Deutschland durch Paris kam, empfand ich grosse Lust, den alten Filou in den Tuileries zu besuchen, aber verschiedene Umstände hinderten mich daran. Dennoch sollte ich ihn zu Gesicht bekommen, und auch die Kaiserin, die schöne Eugenie, die ich bis dahin noch nicht kannte. Eines Tages befinde ich mich nämlich in den Elysäischen Feldern, als es plötzlich heisst: Der Kaiser kommt!—Auch die Kaiserin? frage ich.—Auch die Kaiserin! entgegenet man mir. Ich dränge mich vor und stehe bald in der ersten Reihe des Spaliers, welches von den Spaziergängern gebildet wird. Der Wagen mit dem kaiserlichen Paare rollt heran, aber, o wehe, die Kaiserin sass auf der mir entgegengesetzten Seite, und da sie unablässig zur Chaise hinausgrüsste, so wäre es mir unmöglich gewesen ihr Gesicht genau sehen zu können, wenn Napoleon mich nicht, als ich den Hut abnahm, bemerkt und zu ihr ganz laut gesagt hätte: Siehe, da steht Strubberg!—Darauf hin wandte sie sich herum und ich sah, indem beide mich freundlichst grüssten, ihr pikantes Gesicht, voll spanischer Grazie.

"Während meines damaligen Aufenthaltes in Paris," fuhr Armand fort, "fand ich am Schaufenster eines Buchladens Heine's *Romanzero* ausgestellt; da ich dieses Werk meines Jugendfreundes noch nicht kannte, trat ich ein und kaufte es. Nun, sagte ich zu dem Verkäufer, der arme Heine ist also endlich seinen Leiden erlegen, denn ich hatte in einer brasilianischen Zeitung gelesen, dass er in einem italienischen Irrenhause gestorben sei—aber nein, sagte der Buchhändler, Herr Heine lebt noch, zwar sehr elend, aber noch bei

vollem Verstand.—Wo wohnt er?—Rue d'Amsterdam, Numero so und soviel!—Ich springe hinaus, nehme mir gar nicht die Zeit, erst in einen Fiacre zu steigen und laufe, was giebst du, was hast du, in die Rue d'Amsterdam, Nummer so und soviel, vier oder fünf Treppen hinauf, bis ich vor seiner Stubenthüre stehe. Ich schelle, ein Weib tritt mir entgegen, schön wie der Morgen, die himmlische Mathilde. Ist Heine zu sprechen? frage ich sie.—Ich bedauere, erwidert sie, Henry nimmt keine Besuche mehr an.—Mich aber wird er annehmen! rufe ich. Mich, seinen besten Freund! Sagen Sie ihm nur, dass Strubberg da ist!—Aber da, na, da hätten Sie ihn hören sollen? Rein mit dem Strubberg! schrie er aus dem Nebenzimmer, rein mit dem Strubberg! als ob er geradezu toll geworden wäre. Die alte, liebe Stimme war es noch, ich stürzte in seine Kammer und wünschte lieber, dass ich draussen geblieben wäre, denn was musste ich sehen? Auf einem Bette lag ein Ding, das wie ein Zwerg aussah, wie ein Gnom, ganz zusammengeschrumpft, mit einem dicken Kopf und rothen Haaren. Das war mein Freund Heine—mit seinen durchsichtigen Fingern schlug er sich eines der geschlossenen Augenlider in die Höhe, sah mich an und stöhnte: Ja, du bist es, alter Jungel!—und dann: Champagner, Mathilde! Nun sollen die lustigen Tage, die wir in Göttingen und Kassel und Hamburg verlebt, wieder neu emportauchen! Weisst Du noch, "da sass ich armer Jüngling zu Kassel auf der Wache"!—Mir wurde es dabei ganz närrisch zu Muthe, denn nun ging das liebe Leben wieder los und ausser der Stimme war an dem lieben, alten Burschen, den ich wegen seiner gottlosen Denkungsart vor vierzig Jahren so manchmal durchgerammelt hatte, absolut nichts mehr übrig geblieben! So erzählte Armand, unstreitig in der amüsantesten Weise Wahrheit und Dichtung untereinander mischend, sodass man ihm Stunden lang zuhören konnte. Bezüglich seiner Behauptung, Heine, welcher von Göttingen aus in seinem—Strubbergs—väterlichen Hause in Kassel häufig verkehrt, wegen seiner irreligiösen Ansichten durchgeprügelt zu haben, sei erwähnt, dass Armand oftmals seinen christlichen Standpunkt betonte und darin soweit ging, dass er zu Anfang der 80er Jahre ernstlich den Gedanken aussprach, eine Eingabe an den Reichstag zu machen, in welcher er Protest gegen verschiedene Mitglieder desselben erheben wollte, da dieselben notorische Atheisten seien und aus diesem Grunde nicht in die Volksvertretung eines christlichen Staates gehörten.

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